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Tuesday, April 22, 1980

Pro-Soviet president designs' in S. Yemen

By ANAN SAFADI
Middle East Editor

Western governments were reportedly concerned about a bid to overthrow the palace putch which brought down the Marxist government of South Yemen, said a source in Moscow.

The source said that the Soviet Union might signal that it would support the new government, mainly the Red Sea, and its surrounding areas.

Radio early yesterday morning announced the "resignation" of Ali Hassan Mohamed, regarded as a strong advocate of a merger with North Yemen as well as with Saudi Arabia.

The resignation of Ali Hassan Mohamed — head of the government — came less than a year after his participation in a summit of hardline Arab

leaders who resolved to strengthen their ties with the Soviet Union. It also came, rather significantly, against the background of political unrest spreading from Syria and Iraq to Libya and Algeria — all members of a camp affiliated with the Kremlin.

Isma'il, when seen last week in Tripoli and Damascus, was reported fit and in good spirits. But his "resignation" has been officially attributed to ill health.

The central committee of the ruling Yemeni Socialist Party said that Isma'il had given up his posts as chairman of the presidential council as well as secretary-general of the party central committee.

Mohammed's first move in his new capacity was to dispatch a personal emissary to the North Yemen capital of Sana'a to enhance what was described as "brotherly contacts between South and North Yemen in the quest of achieving aspiration in unity and progress."

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

Other comforts captive son visit to embassy in Iran

By BARBARA TIMM
Jerusalem Post Staff Writer

Minutes after a visit to the embassy in Tehran, the captive son of the Iranian president, Ayatollah Khomeini, was taken to a hospital in the city.

The 20-year-old son, a student at the embassy, was taken to a hospital in the city. He was reportedly in good health.

The son of the Iranian president, Ayatollah Khomeini, was taken to a hospital in the city. He was reportedly in good health.

Elzman wants to stay Herut, friends say

By SARAH HONIG
Jerusalem Post Staff Writer

Defence Minister Elzman told MKs during Independence Day holiday that he has no intention of leaving the Herut party.

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Soldiers attacked in Judea, village men injured

By DAVID RICHARDSON
Jerusalem Post Staff Writer

A group of soldiers were attacked in Judea, and several village men were injured. The incident occurred during a military exercise.

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Egyptian Ambassador Sa'ad Mortada, above, meets the family of President Yitzhak Navon at yesterday's Independence Day reception at Beit Hamas. In the photograph below, Ambassador and Mrs. Elihu Ben-Eliassor greet Butros Ghali, Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs, at the Independence Day reception in Cairo Sunday evening. (Israel, UPI)



Israel's 32nd birthday celebrated in Cairo

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
and Agencies

CAIRO. — Israel and Egypt established another first in their new peace-time relations on Sunday when President Anwar Sadat sent a representative to the Israeli Embassy here to convey congratulations on Israel's 32nd anniversary.

Chamberlain Nasser al-Ansari called on the ambassador in the plush Dokki district to convey Sadat's greetings to Ambassador Elihu Ben-Eliassor.

On Sunday evening Eliassor held a packed Independence Day reception at the Nile-side Meridien Hotel. Among the guests was Butros Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs.

On the eve of Sunday's celebrations, remembrance prayers were offered on Saturday evening at a Cairo synagogue for Israeli soldiers killed in four wars against the Arabs.

Ben-Eliassor led a congregation of about 70 Israelis and Egyptian Jews at the 30-minute service, the first commemorating Israel's war dead to be conducted in the Arab world.

The prayers were held in a rear room of the Shaarei Shamayim synagogue in central Cairo, because the main hall is under repair.

The reception at the Meridien Hotel put an end to talk of deliberate isolation of Ambassador Ben-Eliassor.

At least 300 guests turned up, among them Ghali, Ambassador Tahar Magdoub of the normalization committee, the governor of Giza, and several ambassadors.

Four Egyptian journalists braved their union's boycott on dealings with Israel to attend the reception.

More Independence Day reports — inside

Sources said the chief editors of Cairo newspapers were invited to the party, but apparently boycotted it.

Other high officials who came to the two-hour party included Abdel-Razak Abdel-Meguid, minister of economic planning, and Faud Taymour, chief chamberlain at the Presidency of the Republic.

Drinks and music were served at the reception, held in the hotel's medium-sized Alexandria Hall. Egyptian and Israeli security men, in plain clothes, mingled with the guests. Outside the hotel, a truckload of black-uniformed policemen and four police radio cars were posted.

Linowitz: Palestinians can now join talks

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Special Middle East Ambassador Sol Linowitz now believes that enough progress has been achieved in the West Bank and Gaza Strip autonomy negotiations to warrant direct Palestinian participation.

"When I first became involved in these negotiations, some four and one-half months ago, I said that if I were a Palestinian, I would not want to join the negotiations," Linowitz said Sunday on CBS' "Face the Nation."

"What I meant was that at that time there had only been discussions, semantics and procedural matters and no substantive areas that are of real consequence to the Palestinians."

"Today, I believe there is reason for them to look long and hard at what we've done. We have made progress. We have come to some agreement on substantive issues. We are moving in the direction of establishing full autonomy, and therefore I hope we can interest them in joining the talks."

As usual, Linowitz was rather optimistic in assessing the current status of the autonomy negotiations. He said that good progress was achieved during President Jimmy Carter's recent summit with President Anwar Sadat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

But the envoy, who leaves later this month to continue non-stop autonomy talks in Israel and Egypt, was critical of the latest Western European initiative

designed to win a change in UN Security Council Resolution 242 to make it more attractive to the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

Egyptian Foreign Ministry officials yesterday said that they had asked for a postponement of the next round of autonomy talks until May 4. The renewed talks were due to open next Monday in Herzliya.

The officials said their request followed a decision to designate Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butros Ghali — a main autonomy negotiator — to Lagos to attend a summit of the Organization of African Unity.

Officials in Jerusalem said they were consulting the Americans to fix a new date for the talks, which are to take place alternately in Herzliya and Alexandria.

The U.S. envoy agreed that the May 28 "goal" for concluding the autonomy negotiations could be put off for another few months if Sadat and Begin agreed that enough progress had been made.

(Continued on page 2, col. 1)

BULLETIN
El Al security guards safely removed a bomb from the luggage of a suspicious-looking passenger shortly before his flight was due to take off from Zurich airport, the company said last night.

Irish ambassador in interview: Begin promised, failed to curb Haddad's men

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

The Irish ambassador last night accused Israel of failing to honour a commitment made by Premier Menachem Begin that harassment of the Irish UNIFIL troops in South Lebanon by the Christian militia would be stopped.

The envoy, Sean Ronan, spoke to The Jerusalem Post after a day in which Major Sa'ad Haddad's militia roadblocks prevented Irish forces from moving through the area.

Major Haddad warned UNIFIL yesterday, moreover, that Irish lives were still in danger since a local "blood revenge" against them was not yet over. He advised the Irish forces against "inopportune movements," according to a UNIFIL report. And the Irish were sticking to their positions and keeping off the roads.

On Sunday night Ronan met with Premier Begin and received his undertaking that he would "do his best" to put an end to the harassment and to see to it that the roadblocks were removed. (Begin gave the same undertaking with regard to the roadblocks to President Carter in Washington last week.)

The ambassador conveyed his own prime minister's "deep personal concern" over the killing last

Friday of two Irish soldiers by Shia Muslim villagers near Bint Jbeil, within Haddad's area of control. He had been ordered to seek an urgent meeting with Begin on Independence Day Eve — following a special session of the Dublin cabinet on Sunday.

Speaking to The Post last night, Ambassador Ronan wondered "to what extent Israel used its influence" to prevent the killings, which were the result of a "blood feud" between the Irish battalion and Shia villagers. He referred to his "very frank exchange of views" with Defence Minister Ezer Weizman the week before, in which, he said, Weizman had urged Ireland to "get its troops out of Lebanon."

Weizman had cited Ireland's "recognition" of the PLO (which, the envoy said last night, was not an entirely accurate representation), and the bad relations between the Irish units and Haddad's men. At the very least, Weizman had advised, the Irish troops should "keep away from Haddad," the envoy recalled.

In the light of the subsequent killings, Ronan said, "I could have interpreted the minister's words as a warning of further trouble."

Dublin, meanwhile, is launching a diplomatic initiative among the 12 nations that contribute troops to UNIFIL, and among the European Community countries, designed to strengthen the UN force and weaken Israel's support for the

Haddad militia. Reports from UN headquarters in New York last night said Ireland had proposed a conference of the defence ministers of the contributing nations, to be held under UN aegis in Dublin. Foreign Minister Brian Lenihan will also raise the matter at an EC Council of Ministers meeting in Luxembourg this week.

Ambassador Ronan said the initiative was a two-tiered effort. First, it would seek to curb Haddad's "harassment" of the UNIFIL forces. And in the longer term it would seek to extend UNIFIL's control over the border area now held by Haddad's militia. The UN Security Council at the weekend declared its "intention to take determined action... to enable UNIFIL to take immediate and total control of its entire area of operations up to the internationally recognized boundaries."

Ronan conceded that Premier Begin and all other top Israeli policymakers had stressed to him their determination not to censure supporting Haddad — both because he is seen as a security asset for Israel, and because Israel is committed to protect the Christian minority in South Lebanon as in Lebanon as a whole.

The envoy himself said his government doubted Haddad's efficacy as a bar to PLO terror incursions. UNIFIL's record in stopping

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

Shi'ites vow more revenge killings of Irish

Jerusalem Post Staff

BINT JBEIL. — Villagers of this Shia Muslim township, who admitted murdering two Irish UNIFIL soldiers on Friday, have threatened to kill any other Irish troops they capture.

Speaking to Israel-based correspondents on Sunday, Mahmud Bazi said he and other members of his family had killed the Irishmen.

"We killed them in revenge for the death of our 16-year-old brother, Mahmud. They shot him down like a dog and we had to take revenge so that his soul would rest in peace. The blood feud is not over. We will kill any Irish that we catch. They have no right to be in our country."

Mahmud Bazi was one of three Lebanese villagers killed in a battle with the Irish nine days ago in the village of Al-Tini. Villagers said they were taking part in a peaceful demonstration, but UNIFIL has denied this.

UNIFIL spokesman Timur Goksel said Christian militiamen forced the villagers at gun point to demonstrate, and then opened fire on UN positions. When the UN returned fire, the villagers found themselves in the middle.

Major Sa'ad Haddad, militia commander, told reporters he regretted the killings, but they were not his responsibility.

"The Irish knew it was dangerous for them to enter our enclave without an escort, but they entered and paid the price," he said.

Haddad admitted that he had lost control of the situation. He said the Bazi clan numbers 6,000 armed men, all seeking revenge. He added

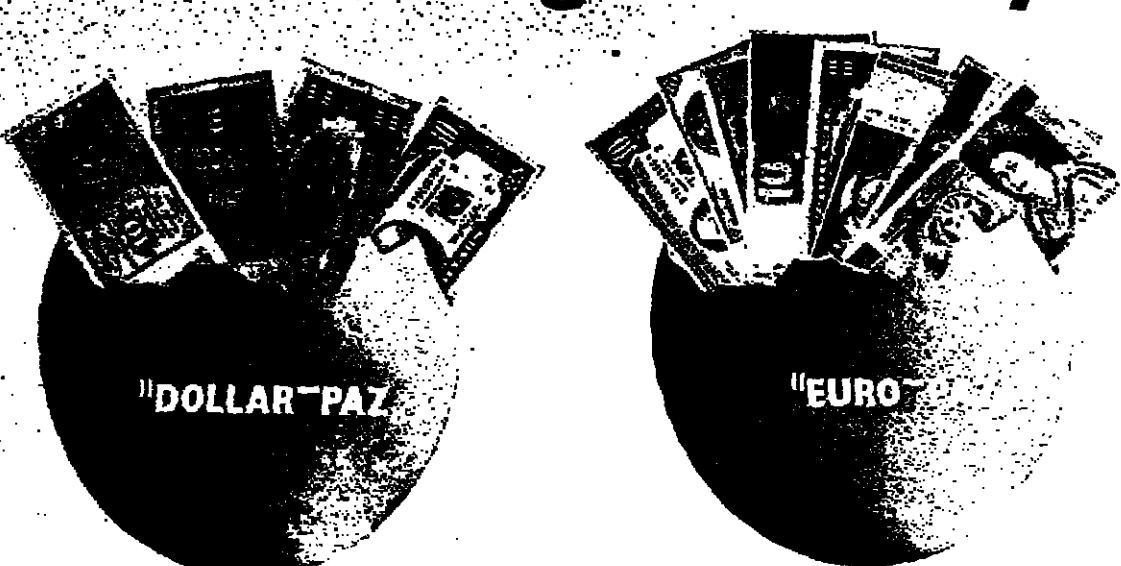
that only a formal *suha* (reconciliation) would end the feud.

Bazi, too, said Haddad's soldiers had nothing to do with the slayings, adding, "We don't need the militia to enforce the custom of blood revenge."

Goksel has denied a report in The Jerusalem Post that an Associated Press reporter and cameraman with the UNIFIL men last Friday were dressed in UN uniforms.

Goksel said militia personnel had made difficulties for pressmen attempting to come to UN headquarters at Nakoura in the past. This situation had reversed seven or eight months ago, he said, and there was thus no reason why journalists should have disguised themselves. According to Goksel, the militia men are again making difficulties for the press.

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The Weather at Main

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Destinations

	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	1 34	5 41	Rain
BRUSSELS	1 37	5 44	Rain
CHICAGO	1 48	18 74	Clear
COPENHAGEN	1 39	17 52	Clear
FRANKFURT	1 34	19 30	Cloudy
GENEVA	1 36	19 30	Cloudy
HONG KONG	1 34	2 1	Cloudy
HELSINKI	1 37	17 52	Clear
LONDON	1 34	19 30	Cloudy
MADRID	1 37	17 52	Clear
MONTREAL	1 34	19 30	Cloudy
NEW YORK	1 34	19 30	Cloudy
PARIS	1 34	19 30	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	1 37	17 52	Clear
STOCKHOLM	1 37	17 52	Clear
TOKYO	1 34	19 30	Cloudy
TORONTO	1 34	19 30	Cloudy
VIENNA	1 34	19 30	Cloudy
ZURICH	1 34	19 30	Cloudy

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy to fair.

	Yesterday's	Today's	Max
Jerusalem	45	20-31	19
Golan	42	21-29	20
Nahariya	41	19-27	22
Safed	36	23-28	18
Haifa Port	46	21-29	24
Tiberias	45	21-29	24
Nazareth	45	21-29	24
Afula	40	19-28	24
Samaria	40	20-29	24
Tel Aviv	50	22-30	22
E-C Airport	40	22-30	24
Jericho	41	21-29	24
Beersheba	40	21-29	24
Eilat	31	22-30	30
Tira Straits	38	24-33	30

ARRIVALS

Herschel Blumberg, national chairman-designate, and Irving Bernstein, executive vice-chairman of the UJA, for consultations with government and Jewish Agency leaders (by El Al).

Army radio brings in big sum for college

The army radio station collected over \$35,000 for the construction of an educational centre in Galilee, during a 24-hour appeal on Independence Day.

The marathon programme, which included music and comedy routines, brought in much more money than expected. The largest contribution, aside from those of banks, was \$132,000 from tycoon Shaul Eisenberg's company. The Galilee centre is to provide compensatory education for soldiers.

LINOWITZ ON TALKS

(Continued from page One)

progress was being made to justify an extension of the talks.

Asked by Terence Smith of "The New York Times" about extending the deadline for another six months, Linowitz replied: "I believe they will. Mr. Smith, if they are convinced that progress is being made and more progress can be made, I think that's exactly what may evolve, but both of them want to be sure that they are on a course which promises success."

Linowitz appealed once again for a freeze on new Israeli settlements between now and May 26. Such an appeal was made to Begin on several recent occasions, he said.

"Prime Minister Begin recognizes that we believe it is an obstacle to the negotiations," But Linowitz conceded that Begin remained firm on this issue.

Regarding Carter's scheduled meeting on Thursday with opposition leader Shimon Peres, Linowitz insisted the session was "in accordance with a long-established policy," and that U.S. presidents have often met with visiting opposition leaders of friendly countries.

Asked whether the Peres invitation to see Carter was a form of pressure on Begin to make more concessions, Linowitz replied: "I really don't think it is. I know there's a chance it may be so construed, but I think it's a genuine effort to talk to a man who is important in Israel and who has ideas and who has in the past had an opportunity to talk to the president and is being asked to do so."

HOME & WORLD NEWS

Begin on Independence Day: Settlement in areas is 'the soul of Zionism'

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Prime Minister Menachem Begin took the opportunity of his Independence Day Eve address on television to declare that there would be "no concessions" on the issue of Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria. "We will maintain our right to live and settle in Eretz Yisrael," he told the nation on Sunday night. Settlement is "the soul of Zionism."

In an address which was in the main sternly political — a departure from the festive tone traditionally adopted by prime ministers on this occasion — Premier Begin dwelt on key aspects of the autonomy negotiations, and reported on his recent talks with President Jimmy Carter in Washington.

Security on the West Bank, he said, must remain in Israel's hands after the autonomy was established. Otherwise, "not only will people be killed, but the peace itself will be murdered." And Jerusalem would never be divided, "either directly or indirectly," as he had made perfectly clear to President Carter.

On settlements, Begin said that "contrary to what some — including some of our people — had written he had come across no expressions against the settlement ideal during his Washington visit. "Our good friends tell us that they prefer to stress the security aspect of settlements, because the large majority of the American people will accept and understand it. It is their right, of course, to choose the most effective *hasbara* instrument, while we for our part continue to emphasize the synthesis of security and historic rights."

Explaining his insistence of exclusive Israeli control over West Bank security, the premier noted that 138 PLO cells had been unearthed during the past year and more than 150 murder plots foiled by the Israeli security forces. "To our deep regret, we were unable to prevent every single one of these murderous plans. Responsibility for security in Judea, Samaria and Gaza must, therefore, remain in our hands.... There is no peace without security."

Begin opened his address with a powerful statement of the government's position on united Jerusalem, citing the injunction, "Let us raise Jerusalem to the head of our rejoicing."

"It is our right and duty to declare in Washington — and to reiterate once again in Jerusalem — that the city, its north, its south, its east and its west, is all under Israeli sovereignty. It is our eternal capital and will never be divided...."

"The president of the U.S. has declared that Jerusalem must remain undivided and that free access to the holy places must be ensured to all faiths. That is precisely the situation that prevails in Jerusalem today, and thus it will continue in the future. There will be no two sovereignties. There will be no two authorities. There will be only one Israeli sovereignty, Israeli authority.... This city is our history, not that of any other nation."

The premier specifically dismissed the U.S. suggestion that East Jerusalemites be entitled to vote in the autonomy elections.

The premier spoke briefly of domestic matters, pointing to the narrowing of the trade gap in recent months and the drop in the monthly inflation figures.

In his Independence Day address on Sunday night, President Yitzhak Navon praised the IDF for its dedication in providing the guarantee for the stability of Israel's independence. He referred to the abolition of "the three noes of Khartoum" through the signing of a peace treaty with Egypt and the abolition of the boycott of Israel.

Navon sounded a note of caution on the whole of the peace process. He expressed concern at the pressures being exerted on Israel by European states and the U.S. over the autonomy negotiations, and said the immediate future would be decisive in this respect.

Turning to the internal state of Israel, the president recalled the vision of the first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, who saw the need for Israel to fulfil the highest ideals of the message of the prophets. If Israel's society does not exhibit high moral values, it would not attract young Jews from the diaspora, he warned.

Navon said he had spoken with tens of thousands of citizens since becoming president and was time and again astonished by outstanding examples of dedication to helping others and of selfless voluntary activity at all levels of society. In the light of such examples he could not be a pessimist about the future, the president said.



Israelis "rough it" yesterday during the Independence Day vacation in the wilds of Charles Clore Park, on the Tel Aviv beachfront.

Israel celebrates quietly

Jerusalem Post Staff

Israelis put political and financial worries behind them for 24 hours and celebrated Independence Day with street dancing, fireworks, public and private parties and picnics.

Armed soldiers patrolling downtown Jerusalem on Sunday night to ensure security took time out occasionally to join dancing youth groups. The plastic squeak hammers were still in evidence, though less ubiquitous, and pitch-penny gambling games seemed to have overtaken them in popularity.

Open house at Haifa's Bat Galim naval base drew an estimated 50,000 visitors, many from as far as Beersheba. The Military Industries also opened their Haifa plant to visitors. But most residents preferred to use the free day to inaugurate the bathing season, and crowded beaches and parks with picnic groups.

One group of Haifa youngsters merited a visit from the police, who

picked up two suspected drug peddlers allegedly trying to sell them hashish.

In another part of Haifa, two men were held on suspicion of robbing a 96-year-old man of \$36,000 in cash and \$23,000 in jewellery.

Barbecue smoke hung in a thick pall over most picnic grounds in Galilee, and some 30,000 pitched their tents around the shores of Lake Kinneret.

Celebrations in Tel Aviv began with a service of thanksgiving in the city's large Ohel Mo'ed synagogue on Sunday night. Tens of thousands took to the streets, and filled cafes and restaurants to overflowing. The beaches were the focus for most people yesterday.

Defence Minister Ezer Weizman joined youngsters from the town's Hatikva Quarter at the IDF arms display there.

And police, on special alert against criminals, reported nothing more than a routine day.

Israel Prizes awarded

By BENNY MORRIS
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Eight outstanding Israelis last night received the Israel Prize for 1980 in a ceremony in the Jerusalem Theatre. President Yitzhak Navon and Education Minister Ze'evulun Hammer awarded the prizes.

Hebrew University professors Ya'acov Katz and David Flusser were recipients of the Israel Prize for Jewish studies.

Katz was cited for his work on medieval and modern Jewish history and for his ground-breaking research into the origins and nature of anti-Semitism. Flusser was cited for his innovative work on the Jewish Desert sect and on the theological and historical links between Judaism and Pauline Christianity.

Pinhas Litvinovky, Yoel Bergner and the late Anna Ticho were awarded the Israel Prize for art. Litvinovky, who immigrated to Palestine from Russia in 1919, was cited as one of the country's pioneer expressionists and a masterful portrait artist. The prize was handed to his granddaughter, Lea Press.

Ticho, born in 1912, was noted for her drawings of Jerusalem and the Judean hills. She died earlier this

year. Dr. Uriel Ticho received the prize on behalf of the family.

Bergner was cited for his important search for new modes of expression in colour, form and composition.

Supreme Court Justice Elimelech Cohen was awarded the prize for his years of service on the bench and as attorney-general and for his studies of the law. The awarding judges mentioned Cohen's "Trial and Death of Jesus" as a major work.

Weizman Institute Prof. Chaim Leib Pekeris was honoured for his contributions to physics, applied mathematics, theoretical meteorology and geophysics.

An Israel Prize for "a special contribution" to Israeli society went to Baruch Oren, founder in 1961 of Petah Tikva's Beit Yad Labanin, and to the institution itself.

Petah Tikva's Yad Labanin was the first of its kind in the country to honour those who fell in Israel's struggle for survival.

An Israel Prize was also awarded to the Society for the Protection of Nature for its contribution to safeguarding the country's environment and ecology.

The ceremony was attended by Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek.

Knesset Speaker calls for a sense of proportion

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

With an appeal to keep a sense of proportion about the "shadows and lights" of Israeli life, Knesset Speaker Yitzhak Mordechai opened Independence Day celebrations on Sunday evening at a state ceremony on Jerusalem's Mt. Herzl.

"There have been complaints about scandal, bureaucracy and the unwillingness to do manual labour.... But the youth who were denigratingly called the 'expresso generation' rose and fought bravely in the Six Day War and reunited our capital Jerusalem," said Mordechai.

Israelis must not close their eyes to the weaknesses of society and their leadership, he continued, but they must not lose sight of the achievements.

The Mt. Herzl ceremony, which follows the same formula every year, varies only with the chosen theme, the selection of those who light the beacons, and the choice of music, reading and the choir.

What is today almost sacrosanct began in the 1950s, as a ceremony tailor-made for the first Knesset Speaker, Yosef Sprinzak, who then was the only major dignitary with no official duties on Independence Day.

The fireworks, the songs, the transfer of the national colours (from the Southern Command to the Armoured Corps this year) and the kindling of a dozen symbolic beacons make it a good show that is enjoyed by the nearly 3,000 new olim, tourists, dignitaries and soldiers who attend, and by many tens of thousands who watch it on television. Dominican Republic ambassador Jose Villanueva represented the diplomatic corps.

The beacon lighters were selected in accordance with this year's theme, "Building and Creativity." All come from industry, defence enterprises or settlement. They were Amalia Abudram of Moshav Amatzia;

Rahamim Avizada of Batkor, Galilee; Tamar Gal of Kibbutz Degania; Dr. Eliezer Gon of Haifa; Dan Katz of Jerusalem; Daniel Mordechai; Yitzhak Mordechai of Dimona; Yitzhak Meiselman of Ramat; Dan Reter of Haifa; Yisrael Pollak, of the textile firm Polgal in Kiryat Gat; Meir Komarov of Nes Ziona (at 92, the oldest of the group); and Prof. Rabel Shalom of Haifa.

Earlier in the day, memorial ceremonies were held throughout the country at military cemeteries, war memorials, schools, and army camps. Flags flew at half-mast on public buildings, and memorial lights were kindled. At 11 a.m., as sirens wailed, the country came to a halt for two minutes of silence.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin spoke at the Salfad military cemetery. He told bereaved families that the country would forever remember those who had died that the state might gain and hold its independence.

Defence Minister Ezer Weizman spoke at the central ceremony at the Mt. Herzl military cemetery, saying that peace with all our neighbours was still distant, and the Migav Am terrorist attack on the last day of Pessach proved the need to remain militarily and spiritually strong.

More than 200 Druse soldiers were mourned at the community's central ceremony in Lafia, where Deputy Premier Simha Ehrlich urged that the bond of blood shed in war become even stronger as a bond of peace. The government and the people of Israel will never forget the Druse sacrifice for the state, Ehrlich pledged.

PICNIC. — A special train took more than 600 people from Beersheba, Dimona and Yeroham to the phosphate works at Nahal Zin on Independence Day for a tour of the plant and a picnic.

Police say insider aided Ramat Gan diamond thief

By YORAM BAR
Jerusalem Post Reporter

RAMAT GAN. — Police investigating last Friday's \$180,000 diamond theft said someone who works in the Diamond Exchange there must have cooperated with the robbers and slipped the loot out past guards.

The building of the exchange is one of the most carefully guarded in the country, and police assume whoever smuggled the goods out the door must have been familiar to the guards.

Over the holiday, police continued to search the building for the two packages of diamonds stolen in what they describe as "the most daring robbery in years."

"Though we're almost positive the diamonds are now on their way abroad, we take no chances, and are checking all the possibilities," a police source said.

Police believe the diamonds — a rare variety — must have been

ordered "by a third party," probably abroad, since they have been difficult to dispose of on the open market.

The one suspect the police so far, Nissim Ashkenazi, 29, taken before a Tel Aviv magistrate on Sunday morning and remanded for 10 days.

Ashkenazi was hauled to court on the 12th floor of a new religious exchange on the day of the robbery. He was identified by one of the three victims, police said.

A police source said they had information indicating Ashkenazi was a former member of the Kibbutz movement, who left the office he was working in at about the time of the robbery. Ashkenazi's attorney said his client had rounded him up with the rally "because they had no one else to blame and denied his client's involvement in the robbery."

The victims of the robbery, Yosef Hershtovitz, Menahem Hershtovitz and his wife, were taken to a hospital. They are being treated for injuries sustained during the robbery. A police source said they are being treated for injuries sustained during the robbery.

BEGIN PROMISED

(Continued from page One)

incursions, on the other hand, was good: there had been "only six attacks" on Israel since UNIFIL was established in 1978.

On the ongoing tension between the Irish unit and the Shiite villagers, Roman rejected the distinction, which he had heard from Begin and other top Israeli officials, between Haddad's Christians and the Shiites. Haddad himself had threatened the Shiite villagers of Al-Tiri, scene of a fatal exchange between UNIFIL and local armed men, that they must produce either the bodies of two Irish soldiers or 40,000 Lebanese pounds.

If they had failed to do either, their mukhtar's house would have been shelled by Haddad's artillery. (This background intelligence was provided by UNIFIL headquarters.)

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The Al-Tiri position, said Roman, had strategic significance. "If IDF has an interest in these hills," he observed, "Israeli soldiers had to be nearby during the abduction of IDF incursion into South Lebanon last week."

Roman said that neither he nor Begin had convinced the other with their differing versions of the events that had led to the killings. "The Irish government, in a lengthy statement issued after the Sunday cabinet meeting, observed pointedly that:

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(Continued from page One)

incursions, on the other hand, was good: there had been "only six attacks" on Israel since UNIFIL was established in 1978.

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Thousands at Gush Emunim march

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

One of its largest demonstrations ever, Gush Emunim today took thousands of settlers on a 16-kilometer march from the northern reaches of the settlement to show the world that "to show the world that we are here, and ours."

A majority of the crowd, estimated at between 10,000 and 15,000, were teenagers, many of them members of the National Religious Youth Movement. The only NRP leader to join the march was Rabbi Meir Kahane, who took the lead in the march. He was dressed in white and blue trousers or skirts, and carried a banner with the words "Gush Emunim" on it. He was followed by a band of drummers and a group of singers. The marchers were accompanied by a police force of about 100 officers. The march was held in the area of the settlement of Gush Emunim, which is located in the West Bank, near the town of Ramat Alon. The march was held in the area of the settlement of Gush Emunim, which is located in the West Bank, near the town of Ramat Alon. The march was held in the area of the settlement of Gush Emunim, which is located in the West Bank, near the town of Ramat Alon.

Jerusalem Post Poll

Drop in support for settlements

In November 1979, the proportion supporting settlement was 63.8 per cent. In that poll, only 30.7 per cent of those interviewed thought settlement activity in the territories should be stopped.

In another question in the latest poll, a clear majority held that UN censures should not influence Israel's policies.

Question: Should UN censures be allowed to influence Israel's policies?

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At Ammunition Hill, waiting for the marchers were several Gush Emunim leaders who have been holding a month-long hunger strike in front of the Knesset, demanding a change in the legal status of the lands available for settlement in the administered territories.

Reuven Rosenblatt, a regional council member from the Gaza Strip, who has been living on a fruit juice diet for almost 30 days, admitted that the hunger strike had brought about no change in government policy.

He said before the rally began that "it is entirely possible" that the hunger strikers may soon have to "give up the strike, without giving up the struggle."

Gush Emunim leader Hanan Porat, who has taken his followers away from the NRP into the newly formed Tebiya party, organized the demonstration. But Gush and NRP sources at the rally said that Druckman's appearance yesterday did not foreshadow Druckman's holding the NRP for Tebiya.

Porat refrained from speechmaking and was instead master of ceremonies at the rally, which included a dance troupe and a musical ensemble led by a singing accordionist. With Porat standing on the edge of the platform, clapping hands in time with the songs, hundreds of the demonstrators sang and danced as foreign television crews filmed.

There were few placards in the crowd, but those held aloft had messages aimed at the U.S.

"Use your muscles on the Iranians, not on your friends," said one poster. Another placard called for the peace treaty with Egypt to be signed.

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A resident of the village of Beit Dosa on his way home yesterday found himself among the Gush Emunim marchers. (Scoop 10)

Europeans in pro-Palestinian moves

STRASBOURG (JTA). — Western Europe is drawing increasingly closer to Palestinian demands for the right to "self-determination," according to the reactions of two European parliamentary assemblies now meeting in Strasbourg.

The Council of Europe, on which 21 national parliaments are represented, yesterday launched a full-house debate on a resolution criticizing Israel's settlement policy and calling for Palestinian self-determination.

The other assembly, the European Parliament, on Saturday concluded a four-day meeting with a Palestinian National Council delegation.

The council resolution, which has been approved by a vote of 23-8, calls on Israel to stop creating new settlements in the territories and says that Israel's current policy "is illegal according to international law."

The resolution stresses that Israel's refusal to accept Palestinian self-determination and "PLO's refusal to recognize Israel's right to exist are both an obstacle to a settlement of the Middle East crisis."

Senior council officials say that even if Israel's friends succeed in toning down the resolution's general critical line, "the fact that such a resolution could be presented would have been in itself a considerable achievement."

The Palestinian National Council announced on Saturday that it will open a permanent liaison bureau in Strasbourg in cooperation with the Bureau of the Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Cooperation. The bureau represents members from most of the nine EEC member countries.

The head of the Palestinian delegation, Khalid Haneen, reportedly prepared for the European parliamentarians a five-point PLO peace plan which, he said, could serve as a basis for negotiations.

Israel should withdraw from all the territories occupied in 1967 which should be handed over to a UN representative for a six- to 12-month period.

Israel's trade relations with Egypt were placed on a regular footing on Sunday, with the finalizing of a trade agreement in Cairo by representatives of the industry, Trade and Tourism Ministry and their Egyptian counterparts. This was the last agreement with Egypt to be signed arising out of the Camp David accords.

It was decided to set up a committee to check on the implementation of the agreement, and to develop trade between the two countries.

The Israeli delegation, headed by Industry Ministry Director-General Yoram Ziv, returned home yesterday.

Egyptians order million chicks

CAIRO. — The Israel Poultry Breeders Union has firm orders from Egyptian chicken farmers for one million chicks, worth about \$400,000.

Deliveries will begin as soon as the union can arrange an import licence under the terms of an Egyptian-Israeli trade agreement about to be signed.

The union plans to charter planes to fly the chicks to Egypt because El Al and Neterud, the two airlines operating between Ben-Gurion Airport and Cairo, do not have enough cargo space.

'Yad Lataimud' project to be launched today

A massive 30-volume publishing project on the lives and times of the men who compiled the Talmud will be formally launched at a reception at Beit Hanassi this afternoon.

President Yitzhak Navon will address a gathering of invited notables on the project.

Each book in the series, called "Yad Lataimud," will contain scholarly essays by leading experts on the social and historical background of the Talmud period, and the historical development of Halacha.

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Miz Lillian, in Jerusalem, reveals her favourite son

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

"All my kids were raised exactly the same, but they wandered off in different directions," says Lillian Carter, who picks her "youngest" child Billy as "her favourite."

"Jimmy always thought he was, and Gloria thought she was, and Ruth thought she was; but Billy's my favourite. He's the youngest, and I see him more often," said the 51-year-old mother of U.S. President Jimmy Carter in an exclusive interview last night with The Jerusalem Post.

The sprightly woman with snow-white hair said she never dreamed, when Jimmy was young, that he would be president. "He was an ordinary little boy."

She arrived here on Friday for a four-day visit, at the invitation of Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Although the Pennsylvania primary is today, "Miz Lillian" says she's on a private visit and refuses to talk politics.

The octogenarian is a stalwart campaigner, and she loves the action, except for shaking all the hands. "Often my hands get very bruised, and somebody has to tell people not to shake hands with me."

She recommends to all Americans that they visit Israel, which has been made more meaningful by her familiarity with the Bible. "I enjoyed going down to the Sea of Galilee. They told me I could fish... but there aren't any fish there."

Earlier in the day, she brought a letter from her son to President "Roshan Navon" in which Carter affirmed his country's "deep and permanent commitment" to Israel.

She spent an hour with Navon and his wife Ofra in their private residence, recalled her first visit for the funeral of Golda Meir in 1978 and presented Navon with the letter. In it, Carter praised Israel for its 32 years of "democracy, progress and vigour... (and) achievements in the face of adversity and constant tension."

Mrs. Carter noted that she has been wearing a gold "hat" necklace for five years, since it was given to her by a rabbi, and she waves it when complimented on her long life. President Navon wished her many more years of "blessing."

Mrs. Carter toured the city briefly with Mayor Teddy Kollek yesterday morning and visited a church-run institution for retarded children in Ein Kerem. When she arrived later at the mayor's Independence Day reception at the Citadel, she immediately became the centre of attraction.

Remand upheld in murder case

TEL AVIV (JTA). — The District Court here on Sunday turned down an appeal of a 18-day remand order against a suspect in the fatal shooting of Meir Abutbul in Jaffa last month.

The suspect is Danny Shariki of Ramle. Police say he, his brother and Abutbul were seen together in the Peacocks Club in Kikar Atarim, Tel Aviv, on March 22, the night Abutbul was murdered. A fight allegedly broke out between the

brothers and Abutbul — over payment for some guns Danny Shariki bought from Abutbul in Belgium for a robbery carried out in France — police say.

According to police, on the night of the murder the three men drove to Jaffa in Shariki's car, and Abutbul was shot in the head at close range. The two brothers then brought him to Donolo Hospital, and they deny any connection with the murder.

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'Aliya Expo' 1980

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The 1980 "Aliya Expo" of the World Zionist Organization's Tour Va'Alch division opens in Tel Aviv this week.

Thirty information booths at the Plaza Hotel will be staffed by multilingual advisers, who will hand out booklets and answer questions about Aliya opportunities.

But all the indications are that Mubarak now plays a major role in policy-making as leader of Sadat's National Democratic Party. Sadat is trying to develop the NDP into a mass movement.

Mubarak holds court at NDP headquarters and often chairs the party's weekly meetings. When Foreign Ministry official Osama el-Baz returned from Washington on Saturday, it was to Mubarak that he reported on the talks between President Jimmy Carter and Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

Other observers believe that Sadat himself will take on the premiership, as he did in the early days of his presidency.

Sayed Marot, a widely respected conservative and an in-law of Sadat's, has an outside chance of heading the cabinet list. But he is more likely to find himself entrusted with an important post in the party.

Since his return from Washington 10 days ago, Sadat has repeatedly promised "a new way of thinking, inventive and courageous solutions" to Egypt's economic problems.

The new style of government is to be announced in two stages. Initially in Sadat's May Day speech in El-Arish, and then on May 14, the ninth anniversary of the "corrective revolution" in which Sadat eliminated his left-wing rivals for power.

If there is to be a cabinet change it may have to be delayed until after May 28, the target date for the autonomy talks. Khalil heads Egypt's delegation to the negotiations and could hardly be removed at this late stage.

Two candidates have been proposed to head the Foreign Ministry — present Defence Minister Kamel Hassan Ali and Egypt's ambassador in Washington, Ashraf Ghobrial. Ali's candidacy seems to rest on his appointment as head of the higher normalization committee, and that he took part in the Blair House negotiations. But Ali's six-week absence in Washington for medical treatment has left him out of touch.

Sadat's new economic planning is intended to increase food production and create new job opportunities.

Half the country's active population are engaged in agriculture but they can only produce 40 per cent of the food needed. A population growth rate of 2.9 per cent leaves the government the task of finding jobs for another 600,000 young people every year.

Sadat orders probe of Copts' grievances

CAIRO (UPI). — President Anwar Sadat on Sunday ordered the establishment of a parliamentary committee to investigate the grievances of Egypt's Coptic Christian minority.

The move, which followed a meeting between Sadat and about 10 Christian deputies, indicated that a crisis in relations between Sadat's government and the Coptic Orthodox Church was on its way to being defused.

Officials said the committee will include two Christian deputies and two Muslim deputies and will be chaired by the deputy speaker of parliament, a Muslim. It will submit the results of its inquiry to the house.

The crisis surfaced when the church's holy synod, headed by Patriarch Shenouda III, cancelled Easter celebrations "in mourning" for alleged harassment of Copts by fanatic Muslim groups.

No prosecution for royal horse-kicking

LONDON (AP). — Mark Phillips, husband of Queen Elizabeth's daughter, Princess Anne, will not be prosecuted on allegations that he was cruel to a horse, Justice of the Peace declared yesterday.

Britain's chief prosecutor decided that evidence in the case was "wholly insufficient to justify criminal proceedings."

Phillips' reaction was not immediately known, but the woman who brought the complaint against him said of the ruling: "It sounds according to my conscience and I would do the same thing again."

The woman, Jean Fyke, claimed she saw Phillips kick his horse, Highwayman, three times when it refused to go into its stall during an equestrian meet last month.

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Boiling Point

Military Risk Divides the Iranian Experts in Washington

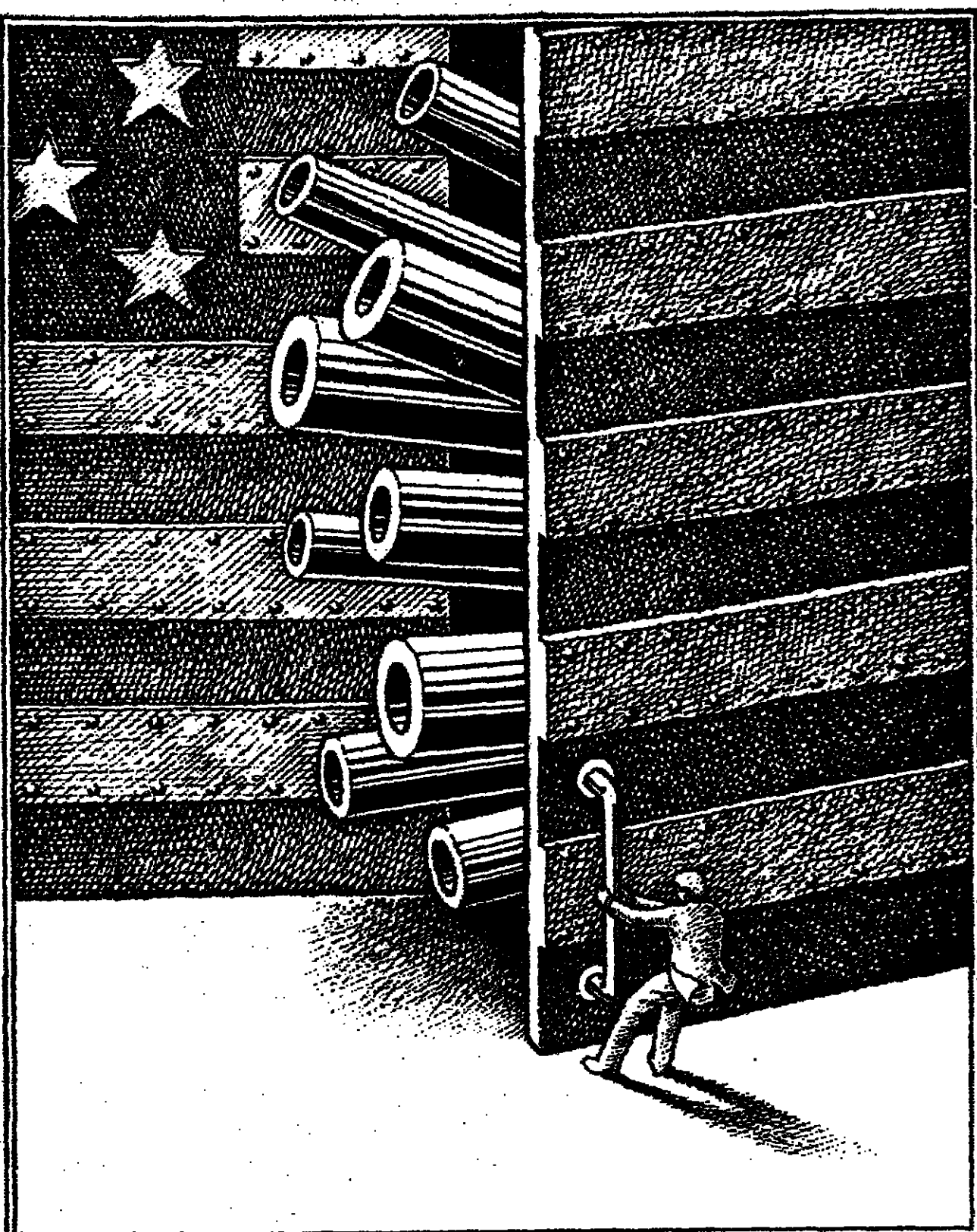
By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

WASHINGTON President Carter and his senior advisers have launched the United States on a course that seems likely to produce a military confrontation with Iran, unless there is a remarkable change in the attitude of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, or an equally remarkable turnaround by the Administration. The course carries enormous risks, not only for the 53 Americans held captive in Teheran, but for overall American policy in the Persian Gulf, in other Muslim lands and in Europe. It is a policy that finds surprisingly little support among experts in Washington's foreign policy establishment, many of whom believe that it is precisely the wrong approach to end the 24-week old crisis. There is little enthusiasm for it within the Pentagon, where ships, planes and personnel are deployed in the Indian Ocean for possible blockade or mining operations. "This is really a Greek tragedy," one State Department official, not involved in the policymaking, said last week after Mr. Carter announced new economic sanctions and threatened military actions if Iran remained intransigent. "We are inexorably marching to a disaster of the best intentions," the official said. No date for military action has been set, although some aides mention the middle of May, and no specific decision has been decided upon. But the anxiety levels have been increased. The Administration rationale for the tougher approach is that it is needed to shock the Iranian leadership, who according to some reports plan to hold the hostages until after the United States elections in November. In the White House view, Iran will begin to fall apart and become vulnerable to Soviet interference.

What is also motivating the President, of course, is the perception that the American people, in his own words, are losing patience with nonmilitary efforts. The New York Times/CBS poll indicates that most Americans are critical of Iran policy. But paradoxically, 62 percent favored a military response.

The First Circle The policy decisions are being made by the most senior officials of the Administration, a group of over-20-year-olds, harassed men who know that the record of the Administration may well be judged not only by the results but by the history books on how well it handled the Iranian crisis. These involved include Secretary of State Alexander Haig, Zbigniew Brzezinski, the national security adviser, and Harold H. Saunders, the Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, the bureau at the State Department has had front-line responsibility for Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Arab-Israeli dispute, none of which has produced many victories for American diplomacy in the past year. In addition, there is Hamilton Jordan, the White House chief of staff, and spokesman Jody Powell, who give soundings to the domestic political fallout of foreign policy.

"These guys have become sort of desk officers on the outside," said one ranking official outside the circle. "They are really not letting others into the action, and I think they are cutting themselves off from a wider range of opinions. In some ways, you could compare it to the Cuban days under L.B.J., when Rusk, McNamara and Kissinger used to decide things by themselves." The outline by Mr. Carter, the United States is hoping that the Japanese and the European allies — as well as other industrial countries such as Australia — join in the economic and diplomatic sanctions very soon. If there is an appearance of joint pressure on Iran, that would allow Carter to let the sanctions seep in and to delay mili-



Jean-François Allard

Carter Puts The Allies to A Stiff Test

By FLORA LEWIS

PARIS STRAINS between the United States and its allies have reached a point which some European commentators are describing as worse than at any time since the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949. NATO always vacillated between periods of "disarray" — the cliché seemed to have been invented for the alliance — and periods of better coordination. But the difference now is that the trouble is above and beyond the machinery, on that critical if almost intangible level where government leaders calculate basic national interest. Ostensibly, the questions up for immediate decision are concrete — sanctions to try to force Iran to release American hostages, boycott of the Olympics and trade restrictions to try to convince Moscow it went too far in invading Afghanistan. So far most of the trans-Atlantic ar-

guments have been about specifics and manners. Did the United States consult adequately? Does President Carter really intend what he said yesterday, or today, or will it be different tomorrow? Will the measures he requests be productive and, if so, whose hand is nearest to the fire? Behind these quarrels, thinly veiled by repeated proclamations of philosophical solidarity and juridical indignation with the culprits, there is the essential issue of long-range Western security. The very gravity of the stakes puts a political premium on turning away from the central problem to arguments which are easier to make, more convenient to defend. Thus, European-American disagreements have tended to be whether carrot or stick would work better for Iran, whether the Soviet Union had somehow humbled defensively into Afghanistan and needed smiles and a face-saving way out. That period is passing, although in Europe, politicians don't believe bad news will rally support, as has happened for Mr. Carter. The Iranians and Russians have dashed illusions that sufficient cleverness or alluring words will find easy answers. With increasing clarity, and through various voices, Moscow has been telling Western Europe that it must make the hard decision — do its interests really lie in closing ranks with the United States, or increasing the distance? **A Whiff of Western Fear** The Soviet Ambassador to Paris, Stefan Chervonenko, even said, in a very official speech, that for the allies to hold back from significant measures to support Washington on Afghanistan and Iran would not be enough. For the benefits of détente to continue, he made clear, they must reverse the decision to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and accept as permanent the existing military balance with Moscow. Increased defense efforts in the West, he said, will be of no avail because the East will match them. Significantly, although his speech was distributed by the Soviet Embassy, it was not reported in the French press, which devoted its space to what was called President Carter's "ultimatum" to the allies and its impropriety. Reflecting Bonn's special concern over détente because of isolated Berlin and ties with East Germany, the Russians have invited Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to visit Moscow. Last week, he was reported ready to accept, but waiting to see how the Soviet Union reacted to his Cabinet's decision to boycott the Moscow Olympics. There is, in all this, a whiff of the deep fear of vulnerability which brought about the alliance in the first place. There are also vital differences, nearly two generations later, including a perception of vastly increased Soviet strength, a reduced confidence in the capacity and wisdom of the United States after Vietnam and its domestic consequences, a feeling that the remoteness of the crisis spots (well outside NATO territory) should allow Europe to escape unscathed, and above all, awareness that the Europeans have developed interests which diverge from Washington's. The divergence ranges from such immediate facts as the nationality of the hostages in Teheran, through trade that is often competitive with the United States and lucratively complementary with the Soviet Union, to the calculations of survival involving energy in peacetime and geography in war. **Economic Complaints Rankle** The decisions on increased defense and missiles have been made, and there is no sign of reneging, short of an unforeseen Soviet offer to negotiate away their SS-20's targeted on Western Europe. But there was the usual abrasion in the debate. West Germany first called attention to the need to offset the SS-20's, but when Washington translated the idea into hard proposals, the Europeans caviled as the risks came into view. That is the way the alliance minnows. If instead Washington had backed down and dropped the missiles as it did with the neutron bomb, there would have been an uproar. Economics is a more basic complaint. France's former Foreign Minister, Michel Jobert, voices what many think when he says that America's negligence of the dollar and thus of the world monetary system has created the real weakness in the alliance. The monetary crisis has aggravated trade problems, and the recession now affecting all the partners is reviving demands for protectionism. American steelmakers and European synthetic textile producers complain about unfair invasion of their markets. Trade with Moscow is far more significant for Bonn, for example, than for Washington. France, too, has been rapidly increasing exports to Russia, and its imports are not just furs and vodka, as in the United States, but natural gas and key raw materials. The Common Market countries depend on the queasy Middle East for much of the whopping 90 percent of their oil which is imported. United States oil imports, although also substantial, are closer to 50 percent of its needs. In the circumstances, the Europeans have moved considerably away from the United States on Middle East diplomacy and Israel. They are not all that confident, especially after the Iranian revolution, that Washington knows how to promote stability in the Persian Gulf. Beyond all this, there is the great question of where lie safety and wisdom. Mr. Carter has said he wants détente and deterrence, and that without the second there won't even be a chance at the first. The Europeans agree, but they wonder if they can trust the United States to appreciate their greater dangers and, unhappily, whether they can trust the United States of the 1980's to provide the continuity of support it gave in an earlier period.

Major News

Washington Leans the Europeans Iran Boycott

It would forego its 520,000 barrels a day of Iranian crude — half Iran's petroleum exports and 10 percent of Japanese oil imports — if the Iranians went ahead with a proposed increase to \$35 a barrel, the highest world price. Pressure on the allies to support Washington was implicit in Mr. Carter's warning at a news conference to report to "some sort of military action" if the hostages were not freed soon. Mining or blockading Iranian oil ports were considered likely steps. Mr. Carter also announced a ban on Iranian imports to the United States and on travel to Iran by Americans other than journalists. Flouting the ban, Barbara and Kenneth Timm obtained Iranian visas in Paris and flew to Teheran, hoping to see Mrs. Timm's hostage son, Marine Sgt. Kevin Herlihy. Mrs. Timm, who arrived clutching a copy of the Koran, earlier appealed to President Carter not to deny her "right to try to understand another culture." If her son "must die

as a result of military action," she said, "then he must not die with the feeling of abandonment of family and country." The White House was sympathetic but worried that the couple "would be cynically used." Last weekend, Mr. Carter told European reporters that he had suggested to the allies a "specific date" for military action. But the White House said later that only "mid-May" had been mentioned and only as a time for policy review. The Administration termed the ambiguity deliberate. But some European allies saw the confusion as more characteristic than calculated. "Like amateur night at the Palace" was the way The Guardian newspaper of London described the Administration conduct of Iranian policy. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was more generous, promising "utmost support" — with the hedge that "whatever we do should be effective and capable of commanding a broad measure of international support." The American ultimatums have been greeted with derision by Iranian leaders, who have other preoccupations. An order last week by the Revolutionary Council to rld universities of leftists — heralded as "the start of the cultural revolution" by one newspaper — resulted in hundreds injured and one dead in campus battles between

leftists and Islamic militants claiming links with the Teheran hostage-holders. As for the hostages, they were visited by a Swiss doctor and the Teheran representative of the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross. "Under these very heavy psychological conditions, of course, they are not 100 percent," the Red Cross official said after touring the embassy compound. "But I saw fit people, to whom I could talk normally," he said.

Representative Anderson could be right. According to a New York Times/CBS poll, half the public wouldn't be satisfied if they had to choose between President Carter and Ronald Reagan. Accordingly, Mr. Anderson, who failed to win a Republican primary, is expected to say this week he will strike off on his own. "After 20 years in public office, I feel I have some sense of responsibility to make a contribution," he said last week. President Carter would rather see Mr. Anderson on the sidelines. For the moment, according to The Times/CBS poll, an Anderson candidacy would hurt Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan equally. But by November, analysts for both Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan believe, an Anderson campaign would damage Mr. Carter more because the two would presumably be courting many of the same voters. The poll showed that Mr. Reagan

Anderson Difference Is Really Different

John B. Anderson thinks he has something going for him that will do him more good than it did George Wallace and Theodore Roosevelt: deep-felt voter dissatisfaction with the Presidential offerings the Democratic and Republican parties seem likely to serve up. Representative Anderson could be right. According to a New York Times/CBS poll, half the public wouldn't be satisfied if they had to choose between President Carter and Ronald Reagan. Accordingly, Mr. Anderson, who failed to win a Republican primary, is expected to say this week he will strike off on his own. "After 20 years in public office, I feel I have some sense of responsibility to make a contribution," he said last week. President Carter would rather see Mr. Anderson on the sidelines. For the moment, according to The Times/CBS poll, an Anderson candidacy would hurt Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan equally. But by November, analysts for both Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan believe, an Anderson campaign would damage Mr. Carter more because the two would presumably be courting many of the same voters. The poll showed that Mr. Reagan

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has pulled even with Mr. Carter — whose direction of economic and foreign policy is getting lower and lower marks — in a hypothetical two-candidate race. Qualifying would be no easy matter for Mr. Anderson, but he could theoretically still find a line for himself on the ballots of 45 states and the District of Columbia, where 486 of the 538 electoral votes will be up for grabs. His lawyers are considering challenging some states whose filing rules make independent candidacies difficult. A court suit may also be undertaken to win Mr. Anderson a share of Federal campaign subsidies. After Tuesday's Pennsylvania primary, meanwhile, it could be time for Republican George Bush to quit. He has invested lavishly of time and money in the state, and if his investment doesn't pay off Mr. Reagan will become an even more prohibitive favorite. Mr. Reagan picked up an endorsement last week from Representative Philip M. Crane of Illinois, who formally pulled out of the campaign. According to The Times/CBS poll, Senator Edward M. Kennedy hasn't benefited nationally from Mr. Carter's troubles. But in Pennsylvania, where the Senator has been endorsed by influential labor leaders and Philadelphia Mayor William J. Green, Mr. Kennedy seems to have a good chance.

The World

In Summary

Begin Comes Home But Weizman Pulls The Welcome Mat

Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin handed President Carter some concessions on procedure last week — although nothing discernible on basics — in the deadlocked negotiations on Palestinian autonomy. Then he flew home to face growing political threats to his fragile Government.

Mr. Begin agreed that Israel will dismantle its military government and redeploy its forces to agreed locations on the West Bank and Gaza Strip when agreement is reached with Egypt on the composition and duties of a self-governing Palestinian authority. But the main achievement of Mr. Carter's successive meetings with Mr. Begin and Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat was agreement to concentrate, during 40 days of "nonstop" negotiations, on setting up the new authority. That would leave the sensitive issues of Jewish settlements, water rights and land titles for later discussion in a "continuing committee," perhaps with Palestinian and Jordanian participation. Returning to Israel, Mr. Begin made plain he had made no concessions on these matters.

Waiting for the Prime Minister was his restless Defense Minister, Ezer Weizman, who called on his boss to quit. Mr. Weizman's rebellion took the form of a demand for early elections and a hint that he was ready to form a new Center Party or join an opposition Labor Party Cabinet. In the ensuing uproar, Mr. Weizman was expected to offer to resign.

In an further reprisal for an April 7 terrorist attack on a kibbutz, Israeli commandos struck at a Palestinian base on the Lebanese coast, killing at least six Palestinians and reportedly some civilians. Also in Lebanon, two Irish United Nations soldiers were abducted and killed by Lebanese in an area that has been controlled by Christian militias armed by Israel.

Cuba Dissidents Flown to Freedom

They ran a gauntlet of curses, their money and watches were taken away and some were beaten as they left Havana last week, but in Costa Rica, President Rodrigo Carazo Odio embraced the first of about 700 Cuban refugees who got out via the Peruvian Embassy. "I could not believe what those people had to go through to leave," said their Costa Rican diplomatic escort.

The United States announced that it would take 3,500 of the 10,800 Cubans who packed the embassy grounds after Cuban police were temporarily withdrawn. Cubans in Miami donated food and money to help the refugees. The new arrivals will join 15,000 Cubans accepted by the United States in the past 18 months. Altogether, more than 800,000 — from a Cuban population now 10 million — have come to this country since 1959. Peru is accepting 1,000 refugees from the embassy, Venezuela and Spain are taking 500 each, Costa Rica and Canada, 300 each, and Ecuador, 200.

After letting several thousand persons out of the packed, unsanitary embassy grounds with exit visas assuring that they could leave Cuba, the regime slammed the gates Friday on thousands more still inside. Diplomats said Cuba was refusing to let the airlift via Costa Rica continue, insisting that the refugees be flown out in planes of the countries accepting them. Western diplomats suggested that Fidel Castro's regime was trying to sabotage the evacuation.

Yesterday, hundreds of thousands of pro-regime Cubans marched down

Havana's embassy row crying "Go, Go, you worms!" and "Leave Cuba to those who produce!" The daylong demonstration, the Foreign Ministry said, was organized to show the world that the "real people of revolutionary Cuba are content."

A 'Can-Do' Regime Takes Over Liberia

"Gone forever are the days of 'Who do you know,' and 'Do you know who I am?'" Liberia's new President told his people last week. "We now enter a time of, 'What can you do?'"

Not many people knew the 28-year-old master sergeant, Samuel K. Doe, before he led the April 12 coup in which President William R. Tolbert Jr. was assassinated. Last week, he started to show what he could do. First, he named a 15-member military-civilian Cabinet. It includes four members of the People's Progressive Party, the sole opposition group in Liberia, which was outlawed by President Tolbert a month before the coup, and three ministers from the deposed regime.

The body of Mr. Tolbert, the chief of his palace guard and 26 other Liberians killed in the country's first violent change of government were dumped into a swamp beside a Monrovia cemetery. Three soldiers and a civilian were executed by the new Government for looting and murder committed following the coup.

Ninety-one associates of President Tolbert were arrested on suspicion of corruption. Those called to testify last week before a military tribunal denied personal wrongdoing but the former House speaker conceded, "Mr. Tolbert's administration talked about corruption and nepotism but every day the corruption dropped from the head and in every office the President had some relative."

Honduras Votes On Its Future

Geographically pinned between Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and the deep blue sea, Honduras is trying to avoid the political fate of its bedeviled neighbors.

Under military rule for the past eight years, the banana-growing country of 3.3 million people today holds elections for a Constituent Assembly. The 71-member body will have the power to replace immediately the junta President, Gen. Policarpo Paz Garcia, through appointment or to call direct elections for President after drafting a new constitution. The latter course is regarded as more likely.

The elections today are a preventive measure. With less stark extremes of poverty and wealth than its neighbors and because strong peasant and labor groups are tolerated by the Government, opposition guerrilla groups have emerged. The junta has also announced plans for a literacy campaign and a revival of a land distribution program for peasant farmers that began in 1972 but bogged down in bureaucracy and corruption.

The reforms and today's elections have the active support of the Carter Administration, whose economic aid this year has been doubled to \$59 million — most allocated for so-called immediate impact programs, such as rural health and sanitation and low-cost urban housing. Washington has also approved \$4 million in military aid aimed largely at tightening Honduras' borders against guerrilla and arms traffic. "We're not too late here," one United States official in Tegucigalpa said, "but the perceptions of the politicians are changing more slowly than events. Trouble could be just around the corner."

Barbara Slavin and Milt Freudenheim

Free at Last, Zimbabwe Now Must Face Difficult Choices

By ANTHONY LEWIS

SALISBURY, Zimbabwe — The Union Jack was lowered at Government House Thursday as the bugler played last post. At midnight, before a cheering crowd, Prince Charles handed over the formal documents of sovereignty. The nation of Zimbabwe was born.

They were familiar ceremonies. Forty-two times, starting with India in 1947, what was once British territory has become independent but for Commonwealth ties. For both Zimbabwe and Britain, however, last week's events carried more than the usual weight of symbolism. Years of bitterness and death preceded the outcome peacefully celebrated. And much now depends — not only for Zimbabwe but for Britain and the West generally — on whether the new country can overcome that past.

Two basic facts underlie Zimbabwe's bloody past and uncertain future. In population it is an overwhelmingly black country: about 7 million blacks and 230,000 whites. But white farmers and businessmen and investors created the economy of what used to be Rhodesia — with black labor — and whites held all the economic and political power.

After seven years of war and a much longer political struggle, the majority has gained political power. A great question for the future is whether the power can and will be used to sustain the economy.

Robert Mugabe and his new Government, for example, face an immediate decision on the fundamental matter of food prices. The price of staples was kept low in Rhodesia for political reasons. By the white Government of Ian D. Smith and the interim regime of Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa, corn for meal, the most basic item in Southern Africa, still sells here for less than half the price in neighboring Zambia. The subsidy on corn alone is said to cost the Government nearly \$40 million a year. The hidden economic costs are even greater. With prices held artificially low, tribal villagers have realized that it costs them more to grow their food by traditional methods than to buy it. So more and more have gone to towns, to try to find work and send money home. Five years ago, the large peasant sector of the economy produced more food than it needed. Today it buys a third of what it consumes.

Zimbabwe urgently needs to make its peasant agriculture more productive. But the political cost of letting prices rise to increase productivity would put

a burden on the masses who voted the Mugabe Government into office. That is the kind of anguishing choice that will have to be made by the Government again and again.

Zimbabwe's advantage is that it is not another desperate third world nation. It has the potential for economic take-off. The country's large white-owned farms boast some of the most productive agriculture in the world, for example. While neighboring Mozambique and Zambia have had to depend on food imports, sometimes coming close to bare cupboards, Rhodesia fed itself. Under the right conditions, Zimbabwe's grain surpluses could help the whole region.

As for industry, the world learned during 15 years of trying to suppress the white rebellion with sanctions how ingenious Rhodesians could be in supplying their own needs. Andrew Young, in Salisbury last week as a member of the American delegation for the independence celebrations, remarked ironically on the high quality of the workmanship in the modern hotel where the delegation stayed. "If they could build this during sanctions," he said, "maybe they could give us some advice."

Unlike many newly independent countries, Zimbabwe has a reservoir of human skills on which to draw. The white population, small as it is, includes crucial technical and managerial experts. But there is also a black professional and middle class. The country has had an integrated university for years, and there are large numbers of black graduates.

Prime Minister Mugabe has made a particular effort so far to reassure white Zimbabweans and poten-

tial investors from abroad. Even before independence he emphasized that, though he calls himself a Marxist, he did not want to "disrupt the economy" by early nationalization.

On the night of independence, he made a moving appeal to blacks to treat whites fairly. "It could never be a correct justification," he said, "that because the whites oppressed us yesterday when they had power, the blacks must oppress them today because they have power. An evil remains an evil. Our majority rule could easily turn into inhuman rule if we oppressed, persecuted or harassed those who do not look or think like the majority of us."

Another reassurance to whites, the atmosphere of friendship between Mr. Mugabe and the British Government, in light of history, was one of the most amazing aspects of an amazing week.

The British were humiliated by their loss of Ian Smith led Rhodesia into unilateral independence in 1965. That was in part because Rhodesia had been a self-governing territory since 1923. The British Prime Minister in 1965 and for years afterwards, Harold Wilson, was also singularly unable to marshal effective diplomacy against the Smith regime.

The black nationalist movements, including Mr. Mugabe's, always suspected that British governments were not so much unable as unwilling to take firm action against their white kith and kin in Rhodesia. The suspicion deepened when a Conservative Government under Margaret Thatcher took office.

When Lord Carrington, the Foreign Secretary, convened the Rhodesian conference in London last fall, Mr. Mugabe was highly skeptical. At one point, Mr. Mugabe's spokesman said the British came to proposals were "a plot hatched by Mrs. Thatcher's concubine with Satan Bothe" (Prime Minister W. Botha of South Africa).

The hostility and suspicion carried over into the election run by the British Government, Lord Soames, Mr. Mugabe held out some of his reasons. He believed that the British would deny him the fruits of political victory. There were bitter recollections on both sides about alleged violations of the Lancaster House accords.

Then, just before the election, the two men met alone together for the first time. And something happened. Aides say each came out of that meeting believing in the other's bona fides. In the days after his sweeping victory, Mr. Mugabe sought the Governor's advice, and urged him to stay longer.

"I must admit," Mr. Mugabe said of Lord Soames in his independence speech, "that I was one of those who originally never trusted him, and yet I have now ended up not only implicitly trusting but fondly loving him as well. He is indeed a great man, through whom it has been possible, within the short period of a few weeks, to organize substantial aid from Britain and other countries."

Robert Mugabe is not looking just to Christopher Soames, then, but to the West. That is another reason why Zimbabwe means so much to so many.



The Change of Rulers Hasn't Changed Much Else in Ghana



A street vendor sells spare parts in Accra; President Hilla Limann (right).

By PRANAY B. GUPTA

ACCRA, Ghana — Within walking distance of Dorothy Tutu's modest house in the Dansoman section of Accra is a large supermarket. But Mrs. Tutu, who has three children, seldom shops there because the store rarely has meat, eggs or milk and almost never has soap or matches. To obtain these, Mrs. Tutu will often resort to barter. In exchange for meat or milk bought by friends or relatives on the black market, she will offer homegrown vegetables or fruit, or rice and canned goods coaxed out of still other contacts who smuggled them in from Ghana's more affluent neighbors, Togo and the Ivory Coast.

When the Government of President Hilla Limann took office seven months ago, ending nearly a decade of military rule in Ghana, "we all were filled with high hopes," Mrs. Tutu said. "But we still don't know where this country is going — except that things are really getting much worse."

Mr. Limann's People's National Party was allowed to take office by a group of young officers under Flight Lieut. Jerry Rawlings. These officers had seized power in June, they said, to end rampant corruption by previous military governments. They executed three former Chiefs of State and warned Mr. Limann that they would be "always vigilant." To some aides of the Ghanaian President, last weekend's coup in nearby Liberia was startlingly reminiscent of the Rawlings putsch. The Liberian violence also seems to have unnerved the shaky Government of President Siaka Stevens in Sierra Leone.

In Ghana, there is a growing perception that Mr. Limann, a career diplomat with little previous polit-

ical experience, will probably not be able to deliver on his inaugural promises of economic progress. Despite Government claims that inflation has been reduced to about 50 percent annually, Western analysts and private Ghanaian economists say the rate still exceeds 110 percent. The Ghanaian currency, never strong during the country's 23 years of independence, is now so weak that the black-market rate hovers at 20 cedis to the dollar even though the official bank rate is 273 cedis.

"There are few signs that the Limann administration has found its bearings," said Elizabeth Osei, the editor of the Government-owned Daily Graphic newspaper. "One rarely gets the sense that there is effective, dynamic leadership there."

"Leadership" has become a kind of code word in Ghana, reflecting President Limann's inability to project the sense of a man in charge. "He is a weak, vacillating man," said a Western diplomat who has spent many years in Accra, a pleasantly laid-out tropical city where one million of the country's 12 million people live. "He is substantially beholden to the so-called old guard of the [People's National] party for his very selection and although he has selected some capable men as Cabinet ministers, the impression created is of a President who doesn't quite know where he is." The diplomat added: "I think Limann suffers from comparisons to Rawlings as well as to Kwame Nkrumah."

Mr. Nkrumah, the first President and founding fa-

ther of Ghana, is the ideological hero of President Limann's party. Some members of his Convention People's Party remain active in the ruling group.

much so that Lieutenant Rawlings recently charged "those corrupt politicians who brought the great country to ruin are back in the saddle." Members of the so-called old guard influence policy decisions that have been formed in most Government ministries. "It is the advice given by these politicians that is often taken, more than the counsel of the board. With technocrats that Limann has brought into his Government, automakers eminent," a Western diplomat said. "As a result, about 15,000 more coherent economic policy has emerged."

"We did not inherit any order at all — we took it from utter chaos," replied Dr. John Nabbie, Minister for Information and Presidential Affairs. "We have realized that after a long period of disastrous military rule the Ghanaian people were expecting a lot. But, at last, everybody is patient, our country will be able to go from 20 percent to cover itself."

cover itself. Ghana fell 22 percent in the last month. The main problem is the largest monthly drop we have had. The Government has limited its resources available — and we have no money."

He is right. After a year of paying its anticipated 1980 bill of at least \$400 million, and paying off \$450 million in long-term debts, there is not a much more left for development.

Ghana's foreign exchange reserves are barely \$300 million, a far cry from the \$200 million in foreign aid promised by the state in 1979. The country has been in a state of financial crisis since 1979. The state is expected to receive \$800 million this year from the state.

According to the state has received 300,000 tons, compared with 265,000 last year. The Government has raised prices to farmers to discourage smuggling to the Ivory Coast and Togo, where prices are higher, and has started to replace sugar with rice. However, the new rice will not yield for five or six years. The deteriorated condition of roads and the legislature also seem to insure that Ghana, once the world's premier cocoa producer and exporter, will remain eclipsed by Brazil and the Ivory Coast.

Western officials in Accra flatly assert that the country does not have a hope of obtaining increased foreign aid unless it undertakes such measures as a major devaluation of the cedi. But Limann's supporters recall that the last devaluation — by Lieut. Gen. Frederick W.K. Aducci, acting at the behest of the International Monetary Fund — touched off unrest that eventually led to his overthrow and execution.

Excusing the lack of economic progress, a Limann spokesman said, "the basic thing we wanted to demonstrate was that civilian government was just an experiment but that it was here to stay."

But is it? Accra is full of coup rumors. Recently the Defense Ministry announced the arrest of 13 officers and a businessman for "antistate activities."

A New Helmsman Hinted in China



Zhao Ziyang

"I am 76 and I am preparing myself to go and see Karl Marx," Deng Xiaoping, China's Senior Deputy Prime Minister, told visiting Italian journalists last week. At the same time he hinted at his choice to mind the store when he is gone: Zhao Ziyang, named on Wednesday as one of China's 17 Deputy Prime Ministers.

Mr. Deng said that the 61-year-old Mr. Zhao would be in charge of the day-to-day work of the Peking Cabinet, formerly part of Mr. Deng's own bailiwick.

Like Mr. Deng, Mr. Zhao is an economic pragmatist. "We must not bind ourselves in cocoon-like silkworms," Mr. Zhao has said. "All economic patterns and conventions which hold back development of production should be abolished."

Mr. Zhao's experiments in factory autonomy, profit incentives and private plots on farms paid off when he was Communist Party secretary of huge Sichuan Province, which has a population of 100 million. After industrial and grain production in the province increased sharply, Mr. Zhao was rewarded last month with a seat on the party Politburo.

Despite Mr. Zhao's new prominence, Mr. Deng finessed a direct question as to whether Mr. Zhao would be his successor. Further governmental changes are expected when the National Peoples Congress meets in August.

BAZAK BAZAK BAZAK BAZAK

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הכנה מאת האגף

The Nation

מקרא מן האוכל

Summary



be surprised if it were defeated." President Carter has the authority to order the registration of men, but needs the funds to pay for it. Those born in 1961 and 1962 would be required to sign in at post offices this summer. In February, Mr. Carter requested registration of women as well, but a House panel said no. Later, after campus protests, it appeared that the idea of registering anyone had ended when an Appropriations subcommittee refused to approve full funding. Congressmen said last week that Administration officials had urged them to support the President in light of events in Iran and Afghanistan. Despite Speaker O'Neill's confidence, opponents said there was a good chance the measure would fail.

Last Time Out For Steel Pact?

How much is labor peace worth? In 1974, it was worth enough for the leading steel producers to cut a novel deal with the United Steelworkers of America. The industry guaranteed annual raises of 3 percent, plus cost-of-living adjustments, plus a \$150 bonus, plus whatever else the union could win at the bargaining table. The U.S.W., in return, promised not to strike. The so-called "experimental negotiating agreement" worked well in 1977 — and again last week, when a new three-year settlement affecting 450,000 workers was reached in Pittsburgh. But the steel industry felt the cost was too high this time, and is not sure it wants an encore in 1983.

The reason is inflation. The steelworkers did not seek basic raises above 3 percent. But because the agreement is based on a projected inflation rate of 11 percent, average pay may rise by \$3.74 an hour (more than 25 percent) over the three years. That could cost the industry an estimated \$5 billion, but it apparently would not violate Washington's wage standard of 7.5-9.5 percent a year. A portion of the cost-of-living raises, and a special transfer of an upcoming pay increase into pensions for retirees, are exempt from the guideline limits.

The Senate Sings of The Open Road

The trucking bill approved by the Senate last week is a compromise, as its sponsor, Senator Howard Cannon noted, that does not "deregulate" the industry so much as open the way to new competition. Even so, the measure, awaiting House action, represents a sharp change. And if projections are right, the economic effects could be far broader than those attributed to airline deregulation.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, the new system could cut shipping costs by up to \$8 billion a year. The hoped-for result is savings for consumers, although some experts expect short-term price increases. The bill would make it easier for newcomers to move into "regulated" trucking concerns — and for regulated truckers to expand — in several ways. On routes where certain firms are both exclusively entitled and legally obligated to operate, competitors could come in unless it could be proved that the change would harm the public good. In addition, certain important goods such as processed foods would no longer be hauled exclusively by regulated carriers. The bill would permit truckers to raise rates by up to 15 percent, or reduce them as much as 10 percent, without formal proceedings.

Although Senator Cannon had been regarded as a friend of regulated truckers, his bill was generally praised as a strong one. Mr. Cannon, whose business transactions have been questioned recently, acknowledged last week that he had intervened with Federal agencies on matters that touched his personal finances.

Ethics Panel Rules Against Rep. Wilson

The House ethics committee, concluding that Representative Charles W. Wilson had violated House rules in his financial dealings, last week set in motion the second disciplinary action against the California Democrat in less than two years.

The committee decided that Mr. Wilson had converted almost \$25,000 in campaign funds to his personal use. It also concluded that he had accepted \$10,500 in cash from Lee Rogers, a California millionaire, knowing that Mr. Rogers had "a direct interest in legislation before the Congress."

At the time, in the early 1970's, Mr. Rogers was a Wilson Congressional aide. He owns a mail-order concern; Representative Wilson is a member of House committees on postal operations. The ethics panel cleared Mr. Wilson, who is running for re-election, of receiving payroll kickbacks.

The committee said it would recommend within a week what punishment the full House should impose. In 1978, the House reprimanded Mr. Wilson for "official misconduct" in connection with a \$1,000 gift from South Korean influence-peddlers.

By Caroline Rand Herron and Daniel Lewis

Tuesday's Pennsylvania Primary Could Revive Kennedy, End Bush's Hopes

Once Again, A State of Real Political Uncertainty

By LESLIE BENNETTS

PHILADELPHIA — "Anybody that thinks they have a comprehensive understanding of what's going on in politics in this country today and can give you definitive answers is some crazy," Philadelphia's Mayor, William J. Green, observed last week. If that is true of politics in America this year, it is

especially true of politics in Pennsylvania — but not especially unusual. Pennsylvania, the scene of Tuesday's Presidential primaries, is historically as unpredictable as it is critical in national politics.

For the front-runners, President Carter and Ronald Reagan, the state represents "a lot of delegates," as Terry Straub, state campaign manager for Mr. Carter, puts it. For the challengers, Senator Edward M. Kennedy and George Bush, Pennsylvania is the make-or-break state that could practically decide the viability of their candidacies.

Four years ago, Jimmy Carter won what turned out to be a decisive Democratic primary victory over Senator Henry M. Jackson. But although Democratic voters hold a large registration edge — 56 percent, as against 40 percent for Republicans — the state just barely favored Mr. Carter over President Ford in the general election a half-year later. And, again despite the Democratic registration edge, Pennsylvania's Governor and two Senators are Republicans.

These facts may be small comfort to political strategists, but they faithfully reflect the complexities of an extremely diverse state, the fourth most populous in the nation. The term "melting pot" derives from steel-making, which, along with the coal industry, was so vital to Pennsylvania's development; the image is apt for the state's population, with its large numbers of Italians, Poles, Germans and other ethnic groups.



Workers in a Pittsburgh steel mill skim slag from white-hot steel in molds.

The contrasts are dramatic: Pittsburgh, an industrial giant that is home base for several of the nation's largest corporations, and Philadelphia, with its renowned orchestra and art museum, both tend to be Democratic — and to sustain an East-West rivalry that splits the state as sharply as the Democratic-Republican competition. Between the two lie rich farmlands, with a largely conservative outlook; Philadelphia's Main Line, an affluent enclave of blue-blooded families; and smaller cities where strongly ethnic blue-collar factory workers predominate.

Although Philadelphia is the nation's fourth-largest city, the political adage that "you have to win Philly to win Pennsylvania" has frequently proven untrue. Nor is a large plurality in Philadelphia necessarily enough. As Mayor Green noted last week, he himself won a 300,000-vote plurality in Philadelphia in his 1976 United States Senate race, but lost the state to Pittsburgh's John H. Heinz 3d.

The Philadelphia-Pittsburgh competition has emerged again this year in the race for the seat being vacated by Pennsylvania's senior Senator, Richard S. Schweiker. The leading contenders are Peter Flaherty, a Democrat and former Pittsburgh Mayor, and Arlen Specter, the Republican former Philadelphia District Attorney.

Head-to-Head Contest

The other primary candidates for Senate include C. Delores Tucker, a Democrat and former Commonwealth Secretary, and Bob Haabestad, a former Republican state chairman.

In the Presidential primary, Mr. Reagan is strongly favored over Mr. Bush in their first one-on-one race, notwithstanding his showing in 1978 when he captured only 5 percent of the Republican primary vote. Strapped by heavy spending early in the campaign, Mr. Reagan has made few appearances in the state. That, as well as Mr. Bush's hard campaigning, has begun to hurt Mr. Reagan's standing in the polls, but probably not enough to matter. Representative John B. Anderson is not on the ballot but is attempting a write-in effort.

There are 83 Pennsylvania delegates to the Republican National Convention; six will be selected by the Republican State Committee, and the rest will be elected on Tuesday.

In the Democratic race, the latest polls showed a neck-and-neck race between President Carter and Senator Kennedy. The Carter campaign has tried to counter Senator Kennedy's almost continuous presence in the state with a media barrage and appearances by Rosalynn Carter and Vice President Mondale. At stake are 185 delegates, of which 59 will be picked by the Democratic State Committee and 126 will be elected in the primary.

Pennsylvania's primary bars crossover voting and participation of those registered as Independents, so Tuesday's contest will be a pure party choice. In November, however, a Republican nominee might draw considerable support from the blue-collar population, which is as large as the white-collar work force, over the issue of unemployment.

Economic decline is a familiar story for Pennsylvania, and so is population decline. The state has 11.7 million residents, down 70,000 since 1970. In 1960, Pennsylvania held 32 seats in the House of Representatives; today it has 25, and expects to lose two more after the 1980 census.

Nevertheless, Pennsylvania retains powerful political clout. And, because of its diversity, it is considered a good national testing ground. "Pennsylvania is a microcosm of the country," Senator Schweiker says. "It makes it tough for guys that have to carry the state, but it is also an accurate reflection of Americana."

Volcker, as Fed Chairman, Has Kept His Fans

Behind the credit crunch

Estimated credit repayments (mortgage and consumer) as percentage of disposable (after tax) personal income (annual average)



'Bank for Banks' Is Cautious In Using Expanded Powers

By EDWARD COWAN

WASHINGTON — When Congress created the Federal Reserve System in 1913 as the country's central bank, the idea was that the Fed would be a "bank for banks," an institution that would not intrude in the business lives of individuals.

That aloof detachment has been compromised from time to time, and it is being compromised now in the battle against inflation. Once again the Fed is regulating — albeit less directly than in wartime emergencies — the availability of consumer credit and the willingness of banks to lend to business.

Besides inserting the Fed more palpably into daily economic life, the credit restraint measures adopted on March 14 as part of President Carter's anti-inflation campaign have underscored the influence of Paul A. Volcker, the chairman of the seven-member Federal Reserve Board of Governors. Indeed, in the absence of a standard economic policymaker within the Administration, the blunt, growing, cigar-smoking Mr. Volcker is now clearly seen as the most powerful economic-policy official in Washington.

Policing credit is a role he accepts somewhat reluctantly. Mr. Volcker is an economist and, like most economists, he prefers to let markets operate with the least possible regulatory apparatus. Nevertheless, he and the Fed have taken the credit actions they had sought to avoid, and some of the complications they had feared may be cropping up.

One result has been confusion over policy. A few days ago, agricultural leaders attended a "hand-holding" session with the Federal Reserve Board and came away reassured that loans to farmers and ranchers (and small-business people generally) would not be counted against the new guideline to limit annual growth of bank loans to 6 to 9 percent.

But an officer of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, who has been explaining the credit-restraint program to business groups, had a different understanding. "No exceptions," he said. "Not even export credit, small business, agriculture."

Both were right. As Mr. Volcker explained it in an interview, all loans will be counted against the guideline. To exempt some categories outright would be unworkable, he said. But, he added, if a bank — especially a small bank whose loans go chiefly to small business and farmers — can show that such lending is the cause of its exceeding the guideline, then "you've got a truly impregnable defense."

Behind that reasoning is the reality that small-business borrowers — farmers about to begin spring planting, for instance — could be hurt in ways the Administration did not intend. To avoid such harm, the Fed last week expanded its seasonal loan program to help small banks meet such credit needs.

A Hands-On Approach

The very idea of giving banks a guideline on loan growth, and advice on which kinds of borrowers to prefer, represents a departure from the Fed's hands-off approach to managing the supply of bank credit, which accounts for most of the money supply. Normally, the Fed — which consists of the Board of Governors and 12 regional Federal Reserve Banks — is content to expand or shrink the overall volume of funds available for bank lending.

This year, as consumer and producer price rises accelerated to annual rates approaching 20 percent, business borrowers feared that inflation would continue to rise and that a "liquidity crisis" — or money panic, as it was called in the 19th century — would develop. Thus corporations, especially big ones, were putting the bite on banks for bigger lines of credit.

The bankers may know better, Mr. Volcker said,

"but competitive pressures force them to do it unless we say it's a violation." The guideline limit on loan growth of 6 to 9 percent lets a bank officer say no to a borrower and blame the central bank. And however distasteful it may be to the Fed to administer the guideline, it is considered preferable to setting up a panel to review loan applications bank-by-bank.

Similarly, the Fed has had headaches with its plan to curb consumer credit. It requires that 15 percent of increases in some types of credit — bank credit cards, retailers' revolving accounts and overdraft-privilege checking accounts — be deposited in noninterest-earning accounts with the Fed. But the Fed sees this general approach as preferable to its writing detailed regulations.

The aim in both cases is to discourage extension of credit by making it less profitable, but to let banks and retailers work out the gummy details. So far, some banks have imposed fees on customers who use credit cards and merchants who accept them, but it is not clear whether such steps will make a great difference in credit cost and borrowing volume.

Who Belongs on the List?

In doubt is whether the Federal Reserve will be able to determine compliance with the consumer credit regulations. Its first problem is to identify the retailers — in all, some 5,000 to 7,000 — who must comply with the new consumer credit regulations. The New York Fed, tacitly admitting it didn't know who they were, ran a newspaper advertisement last week that began, "If your company extends credit to customers and had more than \$2 million of such credit outstanding on March 14, you should be in contact with your local Federal Reserve Bank."

Unstated, but in the air, is the possibility that the Fed will try to get by for a few months with its present staff in hopes that the consumer credit restraints will be dropped. Officials acknowledge that consumer credit growth was slowing even before March, and seems to be sagging with the drop in retail sales. So why the clamp?

Mr. Volcker has told Congress that the decision originated in the White House, that President Carter invoked the Credit Control Act of 1969 and the Federal Reserve only devised a mechanism for using it. Nancy H. Teeters, a Fed governor, said tightening up on consumer credit was necessary "to break the idea of buy now in anticipation of future inflation" and to "avoid the risk of a lot of personal bankruptcy."

The appointment of Mr. Volcker last summer (he had been president of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, the second most important job in the system) brought applause from business people, bankers and foreign money centers — and they still are. Paul Volcker's biggest fans. A former staff officer of the New York Fed and Undersecretary of the Treasury, Mr. Volcker has a reputation for being forceful, well versed in the money markets, technically innovative and conservative.

Says an old Washington hand with intimate knowledge of the Fed: "The place under Volcker once again has the sense of purpose it lost under Bill Miller." G. William Miller, now Secretary of the Treasury, was President Carter's first appointment to the Fed chairmanship.

Although the Carter Administration forced the Fed to regulate consumer credit, observers say the central bank under Mr. Volcker is probably as independent of White House influence as it ever has been with respect to managing the money supply — that is, largely independent but not absolutely autonomous. Mr. Volcker intends to keep it that way.

Asked if he advises the White House on economic policy generally, Mr. Volcker said: "I don't think it's my responsibility to give them advice across-the-board continually because I don't think it's their responsibility to give me advice continually."

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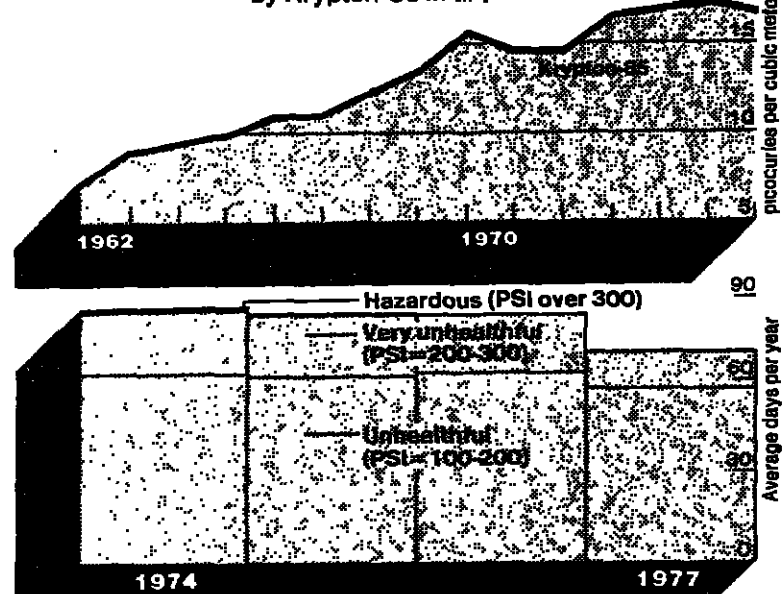
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IDEAS & TRENDS Continued

After 10 Years, Earth Day Again: How Well Are We Doing?

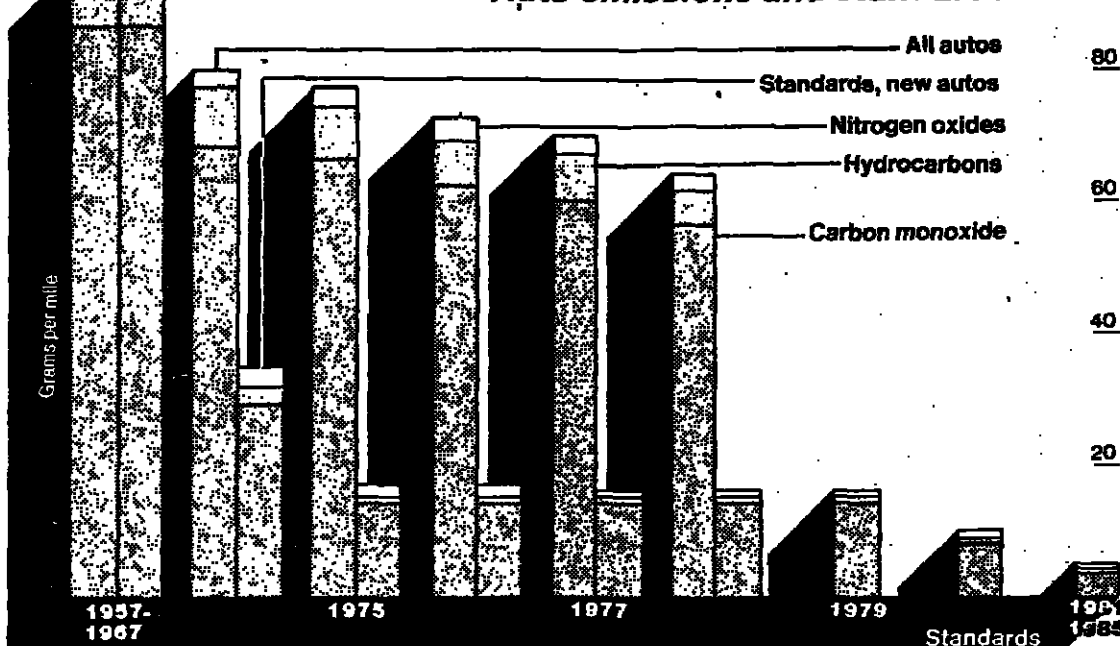
AIR

Radioactive emissions
(from nuclear power as measured
by Krypton-85 in air)



Pollutant Standard Index (based on five major pollutants
for 25 metropolitan areas)

Auto emissions and standards



LAND

**Automobile
registrations**
(in millions)



**Recreational
vehicle sales**
(in thousands)

286
million pounds
1950

**Synthetic organic
pesticide production**

Wetlands in selected areas
(in thousands of acres)

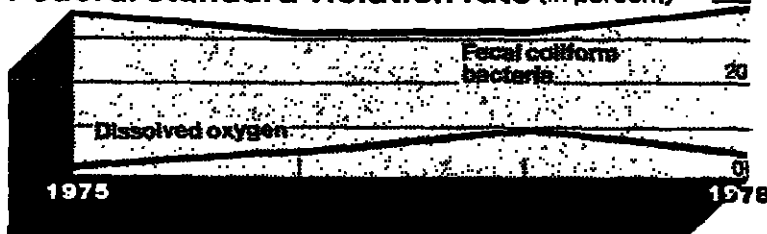
	1850	1930	1954	1959	1964	1968	1971	1974
Mississippi coast	76.1	75.1				66.9		
New York, L.I.			20.59	19.21	17	12.93	10.83	
Suffolk County, L.I.								
Wetland County, L.I.								

WATER

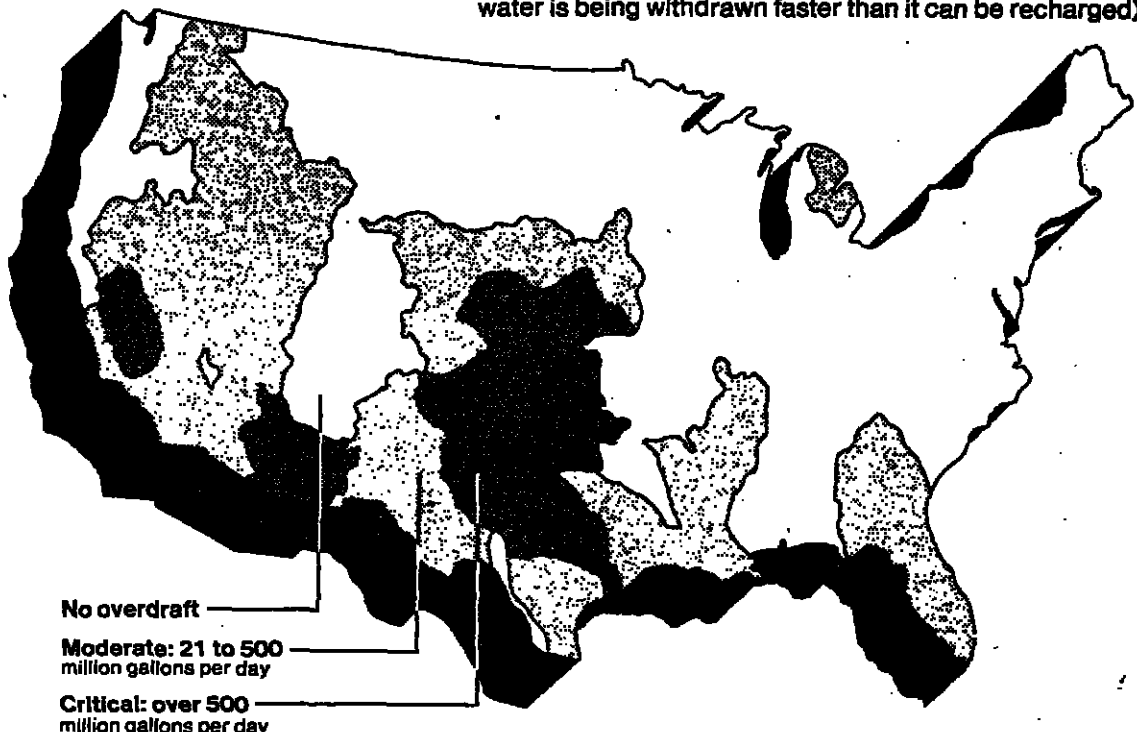
Oil spills
(in the United States)



**Waterways: annual average
Federal standard violation rate** (in percent)

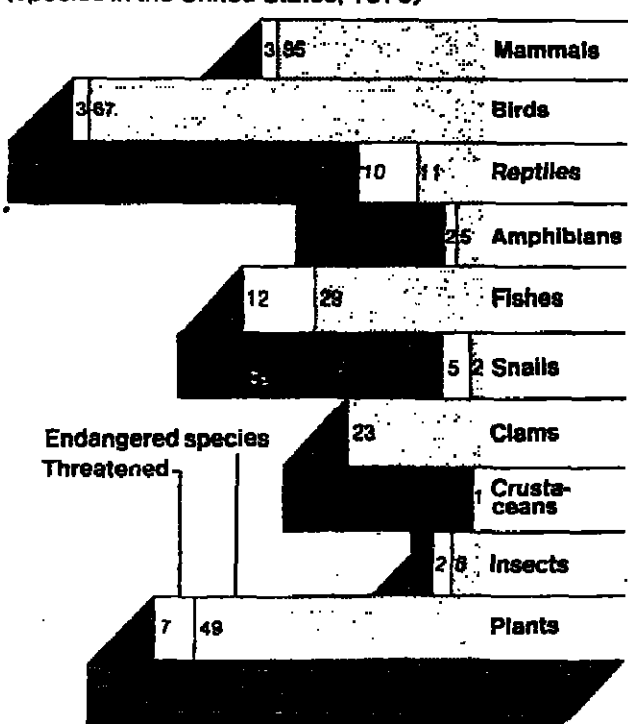


Ground water (areas of the United States where ground
water is being withdrawn faster than it can be recharged)

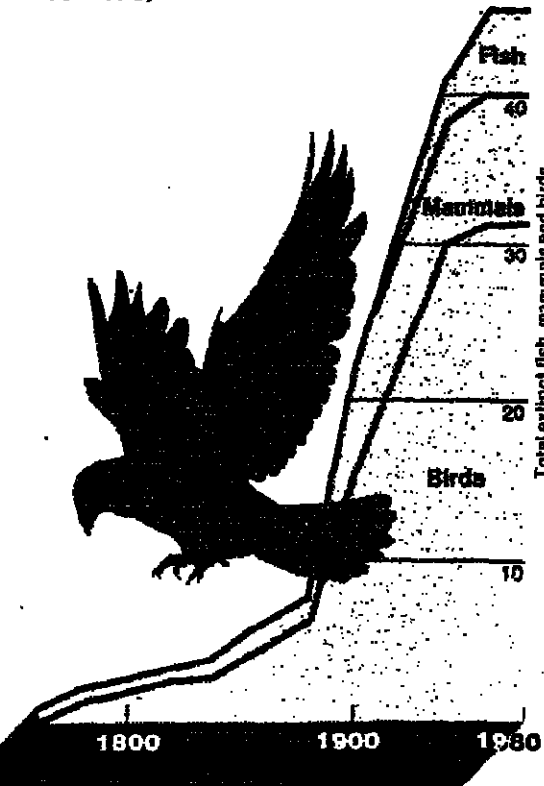


ANIMALS

Threatened and endangered wildlife
(species in the United States, 1979)



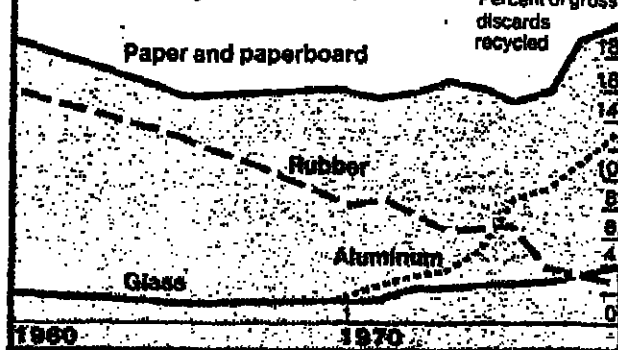
Extinction of vertebrates
(species in the United States,
1780-1979)



**PCB residues in human tissues,
1972-1976**



RECYCLING from consumer solid waste,
by type, 1960-1978. Over one-fourth of aluminum
cans were recycled in 1978.



By TOM FERRELL

ON the first day of 1970, President Nixon signed the National Environmental Policy Act, requiring environmental impact assessments of proposed federal actions. On April 22 of that year, environmentalists celebrated Earth Day to draw attention to the fight against pollution, protect natural resources and guard health. On Jan. 1 of this year, President Carter's final act of the decade was to proclaim another Earth Day, the 10th anniversary of the original. On Tuesday, Earth Day organizers hope to raise a mighty hob in hundreds of communities, with everything from sunrise ceremonies to rain conferences to aluminum recycling contests.

The years since have been measured by environmental legislative landmarks: the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1970, setting auto pollutant standards; the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, authorizing Federal workplace safety standards; the Water Pollution Control Act of 1972, placing the "fishable, swimmable" criterion for the nation's waters; the Endangered Species Act of 1973, which is an insignificant fish, the snail darter, to put powerful members of Congress through Herculean contortions to build otherwise routine dam in Tennessee; and a host of other

Not that regulation by itself can solve all problems. Last week, Federal investigators reported that DDT, a cancer-causing growth stimulant banned in cattle feed, reached prior as of November, was still widely in use. All the same, the decade of regulating made the water under the bridge cleaner, any cleaner? In many cases, as the charts on this page show, yes — somewhat. The President's Council on Environmental Quality pointed without much pride, in its 10th anniversary report, to the fact that "water quality in the United States is not showing vast improvement since the early 1970s. Of course, it is at least not getting worse" — an assessment with which the private National Wildlife Federation agrees. Air pollution, the decade's success story, in 25 major metropolitan areas is behind us. number of "unhealthy" and "very unhealthy" days internationally declined sharply, though as of 1977 more than two out of five are it mal days were still "unhealthy" in New York and Los Angeles.

Perhaps the biggest change wrought by 10 years of environmental striving has been in the consciousness of our major trading public. Bill Butler, general counsel of the Environmental Defense Fund, draws an analogy with an earlier movement: "As the civil rights movement of the 1960's heightened the American consciousness of the population at large so that in the thinking of civil rights considerations automatically became factors for other individual decision-making, so in the 1980's environmental thinking will be an automatic factor in the society's public life. Business Cycle making. That, I think, was the major contribution of the environmental movement in the 70's." Douglas M. Costle, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency for the United States, agrees. "Ten years ago there were only a handful of people warning of the dangers in this country who knew what the word 'ecology' was. Today every schoolchild is taught ecology. Environmental protection is becoming a permanent part of our value system."

Breathing With Care

So far, so good, but the horizon is not clear. The United States' energy message of January asked utilities to cut back on coal consumption in half, mainly by switching to coal. That could increase sulfur pollution and possibly the incidence of suspended particulates, from soot on the windowsill to the lungs. The synthetic fuels program could also contribute to air pollution. Radioactive levels from nuclear power plants continue to rise (though they are still only a minuscule part of the total radiation, most of it from natural sources that humans receive).

Feet on the Ground

Despite the recent drop-off in automobile pollution, Government figures show the national love affair with the wheel continuing unabated — though the wallowing in the mud of the cheap-fuel years is gone.

Though pesticide use continues to rise, the consequences to humans seem to be on the decline. Figures from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare show the American take of pesticides in 1974 was one-third of its 1966 level. DDT residues in humans have been more than cut since the DDT ban of 1972.

The Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972 gave Government a tool to slow down the disappearance of biologically productive wetlands. Thirty-one coastal states have also adopted wetland protection acts and, in places, including densely populated Long Island, we have essentially ceased to disappear.

New Complexities

"Though the 1970's have shown a lot of progress, Jeffrey Knight, conservation director of the San Francisco-based Friends of the Earth, "they have also shown many environmental problems are much more complex than we thought." For one thing, Mr. Knight cites the energy crunch since the first Arab oil embargo in 1973. "Every industry has been using it to argue that environmental laws should be relaxed," he says, and industrial organizations have adopted the same grand lobbying techniques that citizens' issue groups used beginning of the decade. Although Mr. Knight sees potential in solar energy and other renewable resources, he believes transportation will remain "the hardest to deal with, because you need a portable fuel. There is no least replaceable."

Time has revealed other problems not dreamed of in 1970. Not until 1975 did New York State first move to protect the Hudson River with PCB's, the persistent industrial chemical that has been linked to cancer, skin diseases and reproductive disorders. On week did the Department of Agriculture, citing a PCB incident in Billings, Mont., last summer that eventually contaminated food products in 15 states, announce that it proposed a regulation to eliminate PCB's from old equipment, poultry and egg processing plants.

Two weeks ago Mr. Costle called for Federal action on acid rain, an environmental threat first recognized in 1972. One of Mr. Costle's chief concerns is what is found to be toxic next; he cites a recent study showing chemicals in Cincinnati's drinking water, "about 90 percent of which didn't even exist 20 years ago."

مَكْنَا مِنْ الْأَصْلِ

GEOFFREY H. MOORE

Exports by the Center for International Business Studies including new orders for three

However, among the special factors operating on the downside is the unusu-

* As defined by the National Bureau of Economic Research

Until late last year, most of them were rating the current slowdown in the same class as the slowdowns that did not become recessions. Now, according to the latest rating released by the center last week, only one indicator (non-farm employment) is still suggesting a slowdown without recession.

If the recession turns out to be "average," what will it be like? For one thing, it would be the seventh since 1948, a period for which there are good records and thus good comparisons. Four of the preceding six recessions lasted 10 or 11 months, one expired in eight months and the other dragged on

We've never had an "average" recession, of course. Something new is always added. Then too, averages are not good guides when they fail to pick up trends.

ing moves by business enterprises are taking hold, and profit margins are being shaved. In the "average recession" described above, a lower inflation rate is the light at the end of the tunnel.

Business filings, which started the

year at a slower pace, are on the rise now as well, Mr. Picard said.

past," Mr. Picard said. "We had tw

By VARTANIG G. VAM

up 30 percent this year. "There was a tremendous amount of oversaturation in the market toward the end of the decade. Once it peaked, and the boom was over, a lot of the marginal resources began dropping out of the market. It was possible to benefit from that. "And I'll tell you what," he adds. "As a salesman, the lack of that kind of business always hurts. But as a tennis player I like it fine. Maybe how I can get a court."

BY VARTANIG G. VARTAN

FoodMart	1,888,500	23%	—	3%	
OccidentPet	1,665,200	21%	—	1%	Advances
FedNatMitg	1,654,200	14	+	3%	Declines
Boeing	1,638,200	34	—	5%	Total Issues
MidSouUt	1,608,500	13	+	4%	New Highs
FlaPowLi	888,000	26%	+	13%	New Lows

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
New York Stock Exchange				
	High	Low	Last	Net
Volume.....	64.29	64.38	64.38	+2.1
Transac.....	49.76	47.10	47.10	-2.1

[illegible]

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
IBM's	2,448,200	51%	- 2%
Amer Tel & T	1,741,400	58%	+ 1%
Texaco Inc	1,571,800	32%	- 1%
Exxon	1,376,900	56%	- 3%
Sony Corp	1,328,100	7%	- 1%
Tex Util	1,238,400	18%	+ 1%
GenMotors	1,205,400	49%	- 3%
Mobile	1,198,400	67%	- 1%
GenTel&El	1,157,900	27%	+ 1%
Ford Motor	1,006,500	23%	- 3%
OccidentPet	1,005,200	21%	- 1%
FedNatWtg	1,054,200	14	+ 1%
Boeing	1,038,200	34	- 5%
MidSoutL	988,500	13	+ 6%
PacPowL	926,000	26%	+ 1%

STOCK
(4 PM 'NE)

	22.00
Monday	22.00
Tuesday	22.00
Wednesday	22.00
Thursday	22.00
Friday	22.00
Total week	137.00
Year to date	137.00

MARKET

	Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows

STOCK VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)		
	1980	1979
Monday	22,064,950	28,409,050
Tuesday	22,672,150	29,206,510
Wednesday	29,728,450	29,514,170
Thursday	22,777,410	27,174,640
Friday	26,887,950	28,830,730
Total week	149,132,910	146,785,120
As of date	3,793,425,177	2,109,547,195

MARKET BREADTH		
	This Week	Previous Week
Advances	787	760
Declines	1,197	1,197
Total Issues	2,116	2,116
New Highs	19	19
New Lows	138	138

Stock Exchange			New York Stock Exchange					Net Change	
VOLUME			High	Low	Low	Last	High	Low	Net
YORK (Close)			42.79	44.38	44.38	44.38	42.79	44.38	+2.1
1999	26,009,850	45,492,475	42.79	44.38	44.38	44.38	42.79	44.38	+2.1
20,266,570	38,767,800	45,492,475	42.79	44.38	44.38	44.38	42.79	44.38	+2.1
20,514,170	35,063,270	45,492,475	42.79	44.38	44.38	44.38	42.79	44.38	+2.1
11,174,860	43,227,020	45,492,475	42.79	44.38	44.38	44.38	42.79	44.38	+2.1
10,630,750	1,538,420,750	45,492,475	42.79	44.38	44.38	44.38	42.79	44.38	+2.1
146,705,120	712,289,560	45,492,475	42.79	44.38	44.38	44.38	42.79	44.38	+2.1
2,180,547,195	1,786,046,626	45,492,475	42.79	44.38	44.38	44.38	42.79	44.38	+2.1
BREADTH			Standard & Poor's					Net Change	
This Week			High	Low	Low	Last	High	Low	Net
787	1,282	589	409	41,000	111,000	111,834	112,424	111,834	+2.1
1,197	589	2,006	20 Transp.	15.12	14.05	14.05	14.12	14.05	+0.1
2,116	2,006	21	40 Utils.	49.74	47.25	47.25	47.19	47.25	+0.1
138	197	138	40 Financial	11.16	11.34	11.34	11.34	11.34	+0.1
138	197	138	500 Stocks	104.32	99.77	99.77	100.52	99.77	+0.1
Dow Jones			High	Low	Low	Last	High	Low	Net
30 Indus.	742.25	742.25	30 Indus.	742.25	742.25	742.25	742.25	742.25	+0.1
20 Transp.	235.27	235.66	20 Transp.	235.27	235.66	235.17	235.17	235.17	+0.1
15 Utils.	100.19	101.94	15 Utils.	100.19	101.94	101.66	101.66	101.66	+0.1
40 Financial	299.81	297.94	40 Financial	299.81	297.94	297.94	297.94	297.94	+0.1

The New York Times

Founded in 1851
ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1915
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1915-1961
ORVILLE DRYSDALE, Publisher 1961-1980

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Mr. Carter Gets His Recession

President Carter seems satisfied with the way his "anti-inflation program" is working. Unemployment is rising. Housing is in a severe slump. Autos are depressed. Hooray for recession at last. In today's topsy-turvy world, all this bad news is pronounced good for us. Recession is the yellow brick road to price stability. The sooner traveled, the better.

Although the Carter Administration has never described its anti-inflation strategy quite so bluntly, the recession that the President heralded at his news conference Thursday is in fact the centerpiece of his economic program. The other elements — the feeble and widely ignored voluntary wage-price guidelines and a largely symbolic effort to balance the next Federal budget — hardly count.

That means that great pain and losses of wealth will now be incurred for no lasting benefit. The recession will temporarily drive down the inflationary fever; an unstable 10 percent will sound safer than today's 18 percent or the threat of 25. But recession is not an anti-inflation policy worthy of the name. A deep slump that is allowed to drag on long enough could, in theory, weaken the economy until the pressure for ever higher wages and prices expires. But no democratic society can hold to such a brutal policy for long. President Ford brought on the worst recession since the Great Depression to get inflation down from 12 percent to 5 percent. How much more suffering would it take to wring out today's rate? What would happen to the poor, the unemployed — and to struggling cities — if the nation held that course for years?

Merely to ask the question suggests the limits on this Carter "strategy." Long before a recession could really tame inflation, the social stress it causes would

force the Federal Government to pump up the economy again. And history demonstrates that at the end of that pumping, inflation would be higher still, making 1979-80 look like the good old days. Such strategies may save Presidents, but not the rest of us.

There is no sure way out of the pit into which the United States has fallen. But there is one long and bearable path upon which the President should at last embark. He ought to admit that his wage-price program is a wreck. Its rules are vague and difficult to comprehend. Its managers are demoralized. Toss out this charade and, in a mood of national emergency, command the cooperation of labor and business leaders in a new wage-price policy. Because it has to hold back and roll down wages and prices, such a policy has not seemed attractive to individual sectors of the economy. But the recession now begun will soon be even less popular. An incomes policy can be made attractive if it offers tax incentives to encourage wage moderation. It could be especially effective in a recession, when market forces pull in the same downward direction.

But the Carter Administration remains deaf to this alternative. It is trying to keep its exhausted incomes policy afloat by merely inflating the guidelines. The "permissible" wages have already been raised too high. Now a similar inflation is planned for the suggested prices. Last week's oversized wage settlement in the steel industry brought not a word of concern from a White House struggling to win the Pennsylvania primary. Mr. Carter pretends to be satisfied that recession alone will undo inflation — or that it will, at least, seem to be doing so until November.

Past the Point of No Result

In painting the country into a corner on Iran, President Carter is at least using a steady stroke. There's no mistaking the predicament he has chosen for the United States: in six or eight weeks, there will either be meaningful negotiations to have the hostages finally released or a blockade will have to be mounted. Menacing words can always be redefined, but this President will be running for his political life, held to his threats by his campaign. Only an otherworldly Imam could refuse to take him seriously.

There, of course, is the rub. Where morality is recognized as fallible, reason can usually find a way. What more can these hostages possibly do for Iran? Draw attention to its hatred of the Shah and its grievance against his American sponsors? Fire up the mobs to assure the mullahs' dominance in Iranian politics? Advertise Khomeinism as the only purely anti-capitalist, anti-Marxist Moslem ideology? All that has been achieved, and apologies and tribute from America could still be had. Is being victimized really more important to this old man even than being victorious?

Could be. In which case tense days are at hand. Sooner or later some Iranian — or Soviet — ship might challenge Mr. Carter's blockade, or his mines, and someone could get hurt, including the hostages. Whatever economic pain can be inflicted would in any case take months to register. It would fall heaviest on Iran's middle class, which wants most to be rid of the hostages and maybe Khomeini, too. The Russians will offer themselves as the Ayatollah's selfless friends. And if Iran were nonetheless crippled, it could fall

Cole's Law

We have a friend who says that the only law without a loophole is Parkinson's Law, which holds that work expands to fill the time allotted to it. For us, in the deadline business, it often seems to work the other way: time constricts to contain the work that fills it. Either way the principle is inexorable. Of course, there are those who insist that the truly relentless law is Murphy's, which holds that if anything can go wrong, it will. We like to think we can control our actions and environment well enough to keep Murphy's Law from operating. But it's hard.

We are ready, however, to promulgate a new law. It has revealed itself many times in many places. We found an example the other day in reading how the Gang of Four is to be dealt with in China.

Deputy Prime Minister Deng Xiaoping, asked when the gang would be brought to trial, said, "as early

as possible." But he could not give a date because "we must make the necessary preparations from the legal standpoint." When asked if the four could win freedom through trial, he replied, "Oh no, the people won't agree to it." Their crimes were too atrocious, he said; the gang could be convicted "with our eyes closed."

So the new "socialist legality" that ostensibly went into effect last January seems already to be going the way of Democracy Wall. It is evidently to be pretty much ignored in Peking's most heralded prosecution. Which doesn't surprise us and which is, besides, just the kind of thing the Gang of Four might have done.

When any generally desirable code is drawn up only to be shredded in the real world, we call that Cole's Law. With pepper, mayonnaise, parsley and a few slices of carrot, it makes a very tasty side dish and goes especially well with baloney.

Charge and Recharge

Presidential Credit

On his 1979 tax return, President Carter deducted \$45.04 in interest on credit cards. When does a President use a credit card?

Maybe there is an indirect explanation. Mrs. Carter slipped out for some shopping. Or the President, attracted by all those leaflets stuffed in with the bills, charged some mail-order purchases — though it's not clear why he would want a socket wrench kit or a matched raincoat-tote bag-umbrella set \$2.49 a month!

What's impossible to imagine is a President in a store, waiting while the clerk calls in the account number and is told, "Carter, James Earl, credit rating check, double-check" or whatever the plastic password is. It's also hard to imagine when a President would even use cash. It's not that Mr. Carter, the man who carried his own garment bag, would have trouble ac-

ing normally among ordinary citizens — but that ordinary citizens do not act normally around a President.

The rich and famous rarely pick up checks — Governors Harriman and Rockefeller come particularly to mind. Often, they don't even carry money. They don't have to. Ordinary people, caught up in a sense of occasion or generosity, rush to the rescue. Buying a celebrity's lunch is something to brag about. And even if a President should go to a restaurant or store and actually sign a credit card charge slip, it would never get sent in for collection. Somebody would keep it, for the autograph.

Sartre's Exit

We've been reminded in recent days of how thoroughly many Americans disliked Jean-Paul Sartre. His existentialism struck them as cold. As a novelist he lacked the humanity of

Camus; as a philosopher, the power of Heidegger; as a dramatist, well, there were better. And politically — impossible. We remember Americans during the Vietnam War who, although they opposed the war, still couldn't stand Sartre. He seemed contemptuous and, in his Marxism, arrogant. It was typical of him to have once said about a rival, Raymond Aron, "An anti-Communist is a dog."

Yet Sartre's last political causes defied those images. He decided, despite long support for the Vietnamese Communists, that the brutal expulsion of ethnic Chinese could not be ignored. He supported efforts to have ships pick up the boat people. He went (hand in hand with Raymond Aron, no less) to plead for admitting more refugees to France. Sartre said that politically the refugees might be his adversaries. "Humanity, we must do everything to save them." He was a more interesting man than old foes may recall.

Letters

The American People vs. Iran

To the Editor:

One of the Iranian diplomats, as he left the U.S., was quoted as saying: "... Iran has plenty of friends among the American people."

I don't know how widespread that belief is within the several Iranian establishments, a belief that it is only U.S. Government officials (and President Carter, in particular), who are distressed about the inhumane and illegal treatment of the hostages and their families.

I do know that it is our President's job to marshal public opinion so that there can be no doubt about the sentiment and the will of the American people. Peaceful parades, demonstrations, petitions of the citizenry might carry a more compelling message to Iran, to our adversaries elsewhere and to our allies than all of the saber-rattling or Chamberlain-style appeasement of our super-centralized diplomacy.

It is tempting to bemoan the fact that those Americans who have been so quick to pick up the cobblestones against injustice, illegality and oppression are condoning the suffering of innocent victims and their families by their silence and apathy — tempting but as nonproductive as a leadership that cannot rally a nation even for a cause as righteous as this one.

We have been exhorted not to interfere with the President's handling of the hostage crisis. But the absence of interference is not the only or most effective support that "we, the people" have to offer. There must be something more that we Americans can do besides ringing church bells at noon.

I am not so much interested in hav-



Hans-Georg Ruppel

ing the President come out of the Rose Garden to defend himself against accusations about the way he has handled the kidnapping of American citizens. I am more interested in having him come out of the garden to lead his people in an unqualified, unconditional demand for the release of the victims.

Try us, Mr. President. If it works, you will still get the credit for solving the problem. Many chief executive officers in the private sector have learned that they and a handful of aides cannot solve the really troublesome problems their corporations face — a much wider, committed constituency is needed.

PETER P. GIL
Cambridge, Mass., April 9, 1980

'Where Are the Voices Of Arab Moderation?'

To the Editor:

Your description of the terrorists who attacked Misgav Am as "members of an extremist faction of the Palestinian Liberation Organization" ["Palestinians Betrayed," editorial April 9] raises fundamental questions about the nature of the Arab-Israeli conflict, including this one overriding interrogatory: Where are the voices of Arab moderation?

If there are any moderates within the P.L.O. (or for that matter anywhere in the Arab world, with the exception of Egypt), where are they hiding? Where is the Arab equivalent of Israel's "Peace Now" movement? Where are the spontaneous demonstrations in Riyadh, Baghdad, Amman, Damascus, etc., demanding that the Arab League's members end their irrational 32-year-old war against Israel?

Where are the Arab "doves"? Are they in the P.L.O.? Is there any kind of faction in the P.L.O. that is anything other than extremist? By its own charter, the P.L.O., a United Nations observer, is committed to the destruction of Israel, a United Nations member. The myth of P.L.O. moderation is only part of a larger mythology which sees three million Israelis as a threat to 100 million Arabs.

Those who now see moderation in the P.L.O. where none exists merely delude themselves. Let them not be blinded by their thirst for oil. For those nations which court terrorists and appease extremists are sowing the seeds of a terrible destruction. And their fate shall be to have neither oil nor peace.

SHIRLEY I. LEVITON
National Council of Jewish Women
New York, April 9, 1980

Anti-Nuclear Strike

To the Editor:

The New York City transit strike has made a strong anti-nuclear statement: It clearly shows that evacuation in the event of a nuclear accident is impossible.

The traffic jams and chaos that occurred during the strike were massive. If a nuclear accident did occur, the jams would be worse since no one would be walking or riding bicycles. And while there was no panic during the strike, this certainly would not be so in the case of a nuclear disaster.

Imagine if Indian Point were to melt down.
ANDREW TAUBER
Lexington, Mass., April 12, 1980

When a Liberal Turns to Reagan

To the Editor:

We could hardly find sympathy for the anonymous 34-year-old lawyer who, despite his liberal background, feels compelled to cast his vote for Ronald Reagan (letter April 13).

As two 24-year-old members of the so-called Me Generation who, together, have an income of half of that writer's, we are also affected and dismayed by the ineptitude of the current Administration and its lack of effective economic programs. However, our real disappointment comes from seeing yet another member of the 60's youth movement fall into the mainstream of the upper middle class.

Perhaps he doesn't recall, but we distinctly remember looking to his generation for future leadership. And here he is, voting for a standard-bearer of arch-conservatism.

While we find some comfort in his refusal to link his name publicly with Reagan's, we remind him that the link

Remember Carter Great Yemen Crisis

To the Editor:

It is now a year after the Yemen crisis of 1978, when President Carter announced his decision to send \$390 million worth of arms to Yemen in order to save that country from imminent conquest by South Yemen.

Mr. Carter found the need to send arms to Yemen so great that he did not submit the arms to Congress, as required by the Arms Control Act. Instead, he invoked the provision of that act which allows the President to send arms to a country in the national security interest of the United States.

This anniversary provides an appropriate opportunity to consider what subsequently happened to Mr. Carter's "emergency."

In the year since, negotiations between the two Yemens, already underway when the emergency was declared, have turned into talks. Colonel Ali Abdullah Saleh, President of "our" Yemen, has an arms agreement with a Soviet tanks, planes and rocket engines have arrived in North Yemen. Saudi Arabia, disturbed by the events, has cut back its arms to North Yemen. The American aircraft, M-49 tanks, Vulcan defense systems, so important to North Yemen, may well be spun off the deal, and up pointed Saudi, if not at us. An official policy, rashly initiated, demands reconsideration and has proved a dismal flop.

One lesson surely is the danger of sending arms to a country bent upon Congress not to collect any money whenever a ratified President claims there is an emergency somewhere.

Because Congress let Mr. Carter away with his great Yemen emergency in April 1978, the President should not be so quick to do the same act on an ominous scale with the "Carter Doctrine" in January 1980 — again, panic generation of foreign crisis, agitation for domestic political argument against a

As Fatah observed long ago, Mr. Anderson's "cable feeble" is not the best way to conduct the conduct of life.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, Jr.
New York, April 12, 1980
The writer is Albert Schweitzer professor of the Humanities at the University of New York.

Beyond the U.S. Boycott of the Moscow Olympics

To the Editor:

Let's try to get the Moscow Olympics question into some larger perspectives — and go on a step from there.

President Carter and others have quoted published Soviet statements asserting that sports are an instrument of Soviet world politics. This is a fact, which has been abundantly illustrated by Soviet actions: Sports are subsidized by the Government; good athletes are privileged citizens; the Russians constantly boast of the acceptance of their athletes in Western competition.

Now, we have always known this. We have tolerated pitting our amateurs against Russian professionals for these reasons:

• We are good sports, proud of our athletes and willing to let them take their chances against Russian professionals.

• Athletic, cultural and scientific exchanges would, we have hoped, enable us to penetrate and pacify the fierce, suspicious secrecy of Russian life.

• Our policy since World War II has been to try to diminish Russian paranoia with kindness and patience. So we accept their professionals. This welcoming tolerance, we have hoped, would in time soften their harshness toward us capitalist-imperialistic devils.

This policy has been practiced for so long that it has become automatic to the West. Finally we are realizing that it has not worked, that we have been victimized by it. So let us reconsider the whole policy:

• Of course boycott the Moscow Olympics.

• Reconsider all other sports, cultural and scientific exchanges from which the Soviets profit more than we do.

If we have fair exchanges in music, dance, theater and circuses — both publicly and dollar-wise — let them continue. But what about Russian and other Iron Curtain tennis players competing in Western and

Japanese tournaments that award millions of dollars in prizes? Do the Soviets finance equal prizes at home and welcome our tennis players to them? If not — and the answer clearly is that they do not — why should we continue to let them exploit and plunder us?

What does their professional hockey team earn when it plays a series of matches in the United States? Do we have opportunities for equal earnings in Russia? If not, let us stop the nonsense.

We may get some small credit with our allies for being Mr. Nice Guy (though it does not, in the scale of action, apparently balance their fear of Russia), but in Russia surely they go on with their carrot-and-stick expansionist imperialism. Appeasement Berlin-style, 1936 — must we repeat it in 1980?

CHARLES C. WALCUTT
Great Neck, L.I., April 14, 1980

To the Editor:

In her April 13 letter, Olga Korbut, the Soviet gymnastics star, says she "learned with surprise that American athletes, even without being asked their opinion, are being barred

from participating in the Moscow Olympics. Is Miss Korbut implying the country athletes (or ballet dancers, scientists, musicians and writers) never prevented from going to the Soviet Government, that the Soviet Government does not rule the move, practically every living thing in a religious propaganda.

MISS KORBUT should stick to her own politics and abandon her attempt to ingratiate herself with one may dis-

PAUL A. RICH
New York, April 14, 1980

To the Editor:

Olga Korbut is very selective in her indignation over Olympic boycotts. She did not hear her voice raised when the Soviet Government boycotted the Olympics because they were being held in Israel.

PHILIP J. JAMES
Woodside, N.Y., April 14, 1980

The Times welcomes letters from its readers. Letters for publication should include the writer's name, address, and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or return unpublished letters.



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مكتبة من الأصول

Earth Day

By Gladwin Hill

LOS ANGELES — Tuesday will bring observance of the 10th anniversary of the first Earth Day, and with it, I hope, a recommitment to the notion that the environmental revolution is some sort of transitory fad.

A question some are sure to ask skeptically in the less-frenzied atmosphere of 1980 is, "What ever happened to all the environmental enthusiasm we saw in 1970?" — the inference being that somehow the bottom has dropped out. The answer to that question is simple and impressive: Environmental concern has become institutionalized; it is now an integral part of the national fabric.

Laws and regulations on environmental matters would fill several five-foot shelves. Few sizable projects at the Federal, state and even local levels now are launched without environmental-impact assessments. The Environmental Protection Agency is among the largest Federal regulatory entities, with 10,000 employees. The Council on Environmental Quality has become a governmental fixture, advising the White House and Congress on policies. On Capitol Hill, the "environmental lobby" is considered one of the most influential. In partisan politics, environmental issues figure all the way from Presidential campaigns down to city council elections, and repeatedly have tipped close Congressional and gubernatorial contests. Every sizable corporation now has to have an environmental division and to devote a lot of time and thought to impacts and policies. Environmental organizations are growing in membership and scope. National opinion surveys have consistently shown sustained public desire for environmental improvement, even at appreciable cost.

The delusion that environmental concern was an evanescent aberration rested on three myths that still be-

cloud understanding of just what is going on.

Myth No. 1: Environmental quality is an absolute, like pregnancy — you either have it or not. This is a convenient misconception for opponents of environmental reforms because it sets the stage for false alternatives: "Environment or Economic Development," "Environment or Jobs," where no mutual exclusivity exists. Environmental quality essentially is a relative matter — a question of choices and tradeoffs. Nobody questions that homes, factories and highways have to be built, trees chopped down, one's mined. The issue, in each case, is simply: What environmental sacrifices, if any, are involved, and are they worth the result — or is there another way the result could be achieved?

Myth No. 2: "Environmentalism" is an elitist enthusiasm of a small minority of "bird-watchers" and members of arcane groups like the Sierra Club. While conservation organizations have given great impetus to environmental progress, most of them have existed for generations as voices crying in the wilderness. It was not until events such as the 1969 Santa Barbara oil-well blowout generated a tidal wave of public concern about conditions that the environmental revolution burgeoned. Only this grassroots constituency made possible the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and ensuing legislation.

Myth No. 3: Environmental reform is a monolithic, unified, integrated "movement" engaged in an Armageddon-like conflict with other values from which it will emerge triumphant or crushed. A casual glance will show that the quest for environmental quality is an immensely ramified, far-flung, fragmented array of efforts on thousands of fronts, ranging from protecting endangered species and controlling oil spills to controlling carcinogenic chemicals and reducing excessive birth rates. Each day brings countless advances and setbacks, and it is impossible at any given moment to tote up a scorecard and say that "environment" in the short run, is gaining or losing ground.

Because "environment" is not some absolute state of grace but an infinite series of choices on how we alter our natural heritage, the quest for environmental quality is not a cause that can ever be counted as "won," so that everybody can sit back and forget about it. But it is a cause that cannot be lost, given reasonably wise choices. One way or another the effort will continue. The record of 10 years shows plainly that the crystallization of public concern evinced in Earth Day 1970 was a bell that cannot be unrung.

Gladwin Hill, former national environmental correspondent of The New York Times, is author of "Madman in a Lifesuit: Issues of the Environmental Crisis."

WASHINGTON

Canada's Startling Question

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, Apr. 19 — The Governor General of Canada asked a startling question this week. But Washington was so preoccupied with events — or non-events — in Iran and Afghanistan, and in the political struggles between Sadat and Begin, that his question was scarcely noticed.

"Will Canada still exist as a country at the end of this decade," asked Governor General Edward Schreyer at the opening session of Parliament in Ottawa, "or will it have been broken up by the tensions of our past and recent history?"

To most people around here, this is a silly question — sort of like asking whether the Atlantic will be an ocean at the end of the 1980's. But the fact that it could even be asked in Ottawa and ignored in Washington is significant.

For one thing, it shows how Washington tends to focus on distant disasters and forget about its neighbors. By now, we recognize every hair in the Ayatollah's beard. We publish the remarks of President Bani-Sadr and Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh in Teheran as if they made sense.

But in Canada, René Lévesque sets May 20 as the date for a referendum on whether to give his government a mandate to negotiate independence and equal partnership with the rest of Canada and it gets almost as much attention in the American press as the Mexican President's forthcoming visit to Cuba (which, incidentally, is also not unimportant).

Nobody should suppose that the Quebec referendum does not have the attention of the highest officials of the Carter Administration. Secretary of State Vance is going to Ottawa next week to meet the members of the new Government of Prime Minister Trudeau, and no doubt he will mention in private and in passing that something seems to be coming up in Quebec, but this is clearly none of our official business.

However, there is nothing in the U.S. or Canadian Constitutions that forbids anybody's making one or two observations about the Governor General's question, or even from sending a few affectionate remarks to our friends above the Canadian border.

While we don't want to interfere, it's a little hard down here to be indifferent to the Governor General's question, even if Trudeau put him up to it. Canada wasn't indifferent when Mr. Lincoln insisted that he would preserve the union of the United States even at the risk of war between the states.

And without being cheeky about it, the unity of Canada is, in a way, "our business." A careful check of the world map, which nobody around here seems to look at much these days, tends to show that Canada is nearer to the United States geographically than Iran or even Afghanistan.

Canada is our strategic shield, lying between this country and the Soviet Union. It is our most important trading partner. And maybe even more important, if we ever get around to defending our common civilization instead of dividing over the hot pursuit of tuna near the U.S.-Canadian border, it is our dearest friend.

In these parts, one must be careful about Canadian politics. It's not that we have anything against René Lévesque in the United States, or his notion of a Canadian commonwealth of independent states. We fiddled with that idea at Philadelphia in the 18th century, and for almost 200 years, from Jefferson and Madison to George Wallace — which is quite a distance — we experimented with the doctrine of states' rights.

Obviously, the United States has to deal with the threat to its strategic interests around the major source of oil in the Middle East, it must continue with unceasing effort on behalf of the hostages in Iran, and it must attend to the tragic differences between Israel and the Arab states. But as the Governor General's question in Ottawa indicates, there are also some fundamental and neglected problems nearer home.

Washington has not been paying adequate attention to these questions along our borders, in Mexico and the Caribbean as well as in Canada. It is suffering from what used to be called "Afghanistanism" which meant concentrating on mysterious faraway places about which nobody knew anything in order to divert attention from the problems, say, of New York City or Cleveland.

The Governor General of Canada has at least made us think — or has he? — and the turmoil of the other hostages in Colombia in South America and the revolutionary demonstrations in El Salvador and the troubled relations between Carter and President López Portillo in Mexico — have to make us wonder whether we are paying enough attention in Washington to our own neighbors.

Actually, René Lévesque has done us all a favor by dramatizing the dangers of division in Canada and in the rest of the hemisphere, and by making us pay attention to the things that unite us closer to home.

IN THE NATION

The Ayes Have It

By Tom Wicker

the deadline in five, including Ohio — but he will not be eligible for Federal campaign subsidy until after the campaign, if then.

He will nonetheless have to abide by the Federal contribution limit — \$1,000 per person. That means that he would be fortunate to raise \$10 to \$12 million to compete with major-party candidates who will each have 20.4 million taxpayers' dollars with which to campaign.

Nor is it clear that, as an independent, he would be included in televised campaign debates. Independents and third parties were ruled out in 1976, and that may be considered a precedent by the sponsors, presumably the League of Women Voters. And even if the league wanted to include Mr. Anderson, Mr. Carter or Mr. Reagan or both might refuse to appear if he were invited.

Mr. Anderson knows all this and by all reports is about to forge ahead anyway — primarily for the excellent reason that perhaps never, certainly not since the Truman-Dewey election of 1948, has the nation been offered a major party choice so unpopular as that between Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan. Half those responding to a recent New York Times/CBS News Poll expressed unhappiness with that choice — which suggests the potential of those who might vote for another plausible candidate if one were available.

That poll showed 18 percent for Mr. Anderson; an earlier Gallup Poll gave him 21 percent. Precedents for inde-

pendents and third parties suggest that these figures will decline as the election nears; on the other hand, they are within striking distance of a third of the popular vote in a three-man race, in which neither of the other two candidates is dominant.

Mr. Carter, moreover, appears to be sinking with or without Mr. Anderson in the race. Mr. Reagan now leads him in most polls, his job-approval rating is declining, the issue of the hostages in Iran appears finally to be going against him. And by his own admission the economy has dipped into recession — yet, despite his optimistic predictions at his recent news conference, inflation rages on; this combination does not usually make a winning formula.

Mr. Reagan appears to be gaining strength — although such a hip-shooter as he runs the constant danger of wounding himself with ill-chosen words. But the more he looks like a winner over Mr. Carter even in a two-man race, the less the Democrats will be able to make the "spoiler" issue seem plausible, and the more favor Mr. Anderson might gain among liberals, independents and even Republicans opposed to Mr. Reagan.

The other good reason why Mr. Anderson should run is that his would be a sensible and useful presence in the race — and not just to push such innovative proposals as his plan to raise the gasoline tax to insure conservation and finance a huge Social Security payroll tax cut. He could also have a sort of balance-wheel effect.

A Reagan-Carter campaign, for example, could become uncomfortably hawkish, with Mr. Reagan urging stringent military action against Iran and President Carter feeling himself forced actually to take such action or lose the election. Mr. Anderson's campaign so far suggests that in that case his would be a calm and restraining third voice, reminding his opponents that not all Americans are eager for war.

of Sinai, was exorbitantly expensive in terms of both Egypt's isolation from the rest of the Arab world and the United States' strategic interest in securing the stability of a key region in its confrontation with the Soviet Union.

As to the other part of the Camp David package, with the Palestinian autonomy talks conducted in the absence of the subject of these talks they are unlikely to produce anything more, before the May 26 deadline, than a figleaf to avoid admitting failure.

The ambiguity contained in the notion that the United States holds 100 percent of the cards will become more and more costly until ultimately the United States will find itself torn between one of two courses: either to admit defeat or to be committed to produce what it cannot deliver.

The only way out of this dilemma is for the United States to weigh its priorities and interests and declare — only declare — an unambiguous position in the Middle East, as it has done in other regions of the world.

In Western Europe, for example, its position is so clearly spelled out that all the players know the United States will not tolerate Communist parties' sharing power in North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries.

Only in the Middle East, which is no less important for American interests, is the United States deliberately ambiguous, in the best tradition of Britain's imperial diplomacy.

But this British talent came to a sorry end in an age in which the revolution in communication has made the world a global village.

As Dean Acheson said: "Britain has lost an empire and is still searching for a role."

Mohammed Heikal, an Egyptian journalist, is a guest columnist.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mideast Ambiguities

By Mohammed Heikal

"to get out of the occupied territories and have her comply."

But this scenario, I objected, made no provision for the effect of local wills on the course of a regional conflict. I reminded the President that when, in 1972, he expelled 15,000 Soviet experts from Egypt, he demonstrated how important the will of a local protagonist could be. By the same token, if Israel ever felt the Zionist enterprise to be threatened by any United States Administration, it would not hesitate to turn against its erstwhile ally.

Soon after this conversation took place, President Sadat announced that not 99 percent but 100 percent of the cards were held by the Americans.

Even more startling, some Arab parties opposing his present policies agree with him on that particular point, which raises an ambiguity that requires clarification.

It was because of the ambiguity of its role in the Camp David peace negotiations that the United States failed not only to secure a comprehensive Middle East peace but also to make any new friends in the region — appearances to the contrary notwithstanding. Indeed, it lost many of its old friends.

The shortcomings of Camp David are now quite obvious. Even the part actually implemented, dealing with Israel's withdrawal from two-thirds

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Arts & Leisure

'First Edition' LPs Are 'Collectibles'

By SAM H. SHIRAKAWA

Did you get the original cast album of "Flashdance" when it was first issued in 1981? How about "Hazel Flagg" in its initial release? Perhaps you own a mint copy of the infamous "butcher boys" album with the Beatles posing in butcher smocks amid chunks of meat and dismembered limbs of dolls on the cover.

If you're nodding "yes" to any of the above, you might like to know that you own one or more of the most valuable long-play recordings ever made. All of these records cost about \$5 when they were first issued. Today, these first-edition copies can fetch upwards of \$100 each if they are in mint condition.

Vintage or rare LPs don't, as yet, bring monetary returns equal to the sums commanded by art objects, but they are rapidly joining the ranks of "the collectibles," along with such diverse esoterica as Art Deco chinaware and old magazines. Like most items that are only beginning to gain surrender value, there is currently no reliable system for evaluating the worth of first-edition LPs.

"A lot depends on where you live," says Dave Ginsburg of Golden Oldies, one of several Manhattan record shops that deal in vintage LPs. "If you don't have contact with the record traffic, and you need something to complete your collection of, say, Elvis or the Beatles, you have to pay whatever the guy who has it demands."

"I remember a guy a couple of years ago, called me from Texas about a very rare 10-inch Elvis album. I told him I had it, but the price on it was \$1,200. He said he'd be in to pick it up in about four hours. I thought he was crazy, but sure enough, he was in my store four hours later shelling out the greenbacks for it. He got right back into his private jet with it and went home."

"Of course, the numbers on that record were re-issued about a year later, and the price went down to \$800 on another copy I had that was in even better shape. But some fans will still pay that much for the first edition."

Anyone who thinks he has valuable LPs can learn a number of important lessons from this anecdote. First, the price you may have to pay for an out-of-print record can vary widely, depending on how much you know about current "going rates," and who you know that is willing to buy, sell or trade. Second, the surrender value of a rare record can drop considerably if it is re-issued commercially in any form. Third, the condition of a desirable recording always has a strong bearing on how much you have to pay or get for it. Fourth, dealers inevitably offer less and charge more for such disks because of their overhead costs.

Some of the confusion, though, has been cleared up in the pop and soundtrack areas of out-of-print records by Jerry Osborne's "Record Album Price Guide." The operative word in this title is "Guide." The author makes it clear that the prices he lists are those that he knows have been paid. They are not meant to be official or absolute, but informative and relative. Collectors should not regard the book as a bible, although many do for want of any other standard. The book merely serves to show how some records compare with others in the prices they may command.

Nonetheless, a number of out-of-print recordings are distinguished by the extraordinary prices they can bring. The most famous but probably apocryphal recording of the LP age is the soundtrack of the "Caine Mutiny." The original release was withdrawn shortly after it was put on the market because of a dispute over who should get royalties since the recording reportedly included dialogue as well as music. No more than five copies of it are said to exist, and more than \$2,000 has been offered for a mint pressing.

In the rock and pop areas, Elvis remains king. More of his early and hard-to-get recordings command higher prices than any other pop artist — Sinatra notwithstanding. The French RCA release of his "Good Rockin' Tonight," for example, brought \$1,500 to certain shrewd dealers before it was re-issued several years ago. His "Aloha From Hawaii" made in 1973, still garners about \$900 from Elvis fans who need it badly enough, and any of his disks for the Sun label very early in his career will bring as much as \$600 each.

Labels, in fact, can also play a big part in the sale value of a vintage LP, especially if the names of certain artists are on them. Nowhere is this more the case than in jazz recordings. Collectors specializing in this category keep a sharp eye out for defunct labels like Storyville, Debut, Transition and Dial. A mint copy of almost any jazz title on these labels can fetch between \$35 and \$80, and a clean copy (including jacket) of the legendary "Jazz at Massey Hall" usually goes for over \$100.

But labels are hardly the prime interest to a true jazz-record collector. The sight of early first-issues by Miles Davis, Lester Young, Cecil Taylor and the two Charles — Mingus and Parker — are certain to elicit wallet-producing reactions from conditioned jazz buffs.

On the rock rock side, the Beatles still are the most sought-after team of

them all. Aside from their "butcher boys" album, returns on mint copies of their earliest recordings are becoming increasingly hefty. But some other groups from the 1950's and 60's that have slipped down into the obscurity of Memory Lane for most of us have never been forgotten by quite a number of rock-and-roll fans. Do you remember Kenny and the Kasuals? Did you give to the beat of the Kinks? If you bought any of their albums and managed to resist playing them too often, they are certain to be worth up to \$300 each. The Moving Sidewalks on Tantara could net you \$146 on a \$4 investment. The British release of David Bowie's "Man of Music, Man of Words" with Bowie reclining in drag on a couch is said to be worth at least \$200 to a rabid Bowie freak.

If the pop and rock areas are populated with the wealthiest vintage LP collectors, the original-cast and soundtrack categories boast the most eccentrics. Why, for instance, is there now such a rush on the soundtrack to "The Sons of Katie Elder"? Part of the answer, naturally, is that John Wayne's death now makes all the soundtracks of his films "historical" and therefore valuable to some people who wish to maintain parts of their past in which he was significant for any number of reasons. But what makes the "Katie Elder" album such a prize is that it is the only commercial soundtrack of his films in which the Duke can be heard singing. For \$35 to \$50 a Wayne fan will earn the privilege of keeping this part of his past alive indefinitely.

About the same cost range is paid by film buffs for the tracks and early studio recordings of three stars who really could sing. The eternal nightgale among these, of course, is Judy Garland, but there are very few truly "rare" Garland recordings because her career was so exhaustively documented.

Almost every original-cast album eventually accrues some sort of surrender value because they are issued in relatively small quantities, but a few of them have achieved blue-chip status, again for reasons not always connected with their musical or dramatic values. Certainly "Make a Wish," "Hazel Flagg," and "Flashdance" had a couple of hit songs, but their enduring excitement for musical-comedy mavens seems to rest largely on the "camp" fame later achieved by the likes of Barbara Cook, Yma Sumac and Nanette Fabray, whose youthful appearances are documented in these recordings. "Smiling the Boy Fell Dead," "O, Say Can You See?" and "Parade" are also in this category, but the specifics pertaining to their intense demand are best known to those who have paid up to \$250 each for mint copies, even though some of them have been reissued.

Of the Broadway musicals that have become classics, only the British cast album of "South Pacific" starring Wilbur Evans and Mary Martin has become regarded as "collectible." But two extremely rare 45-r.p.m. disks containing songs ("Loneliness of Evening" and "My Girl Back Home") that were cut from the show can enable their owners to invest in quite a few possible blue-chip albums of the future should they care to part with them.

In the classical area, the market for vintage LPs drops dramatically in comparison to pop and soundtrack recordings. "People who collect classical LPs are much more performance-oriented," says Albert Ten Brink, Manager of Ludus Tonalis, a second-hand record shop in the Village that specializes in serious music. "Most of my customers are scholars and individuals who need the original release because no other recordings of a particular work are available. Otherwise, they'd gladly settle for a reissue at regular or budget prices."

Nonetheless, classical collectors will pay proportionately large sums for certain deleted recordings, and these fall into two basic categories — vocal and otherwise. Among the former, the most consistently prized vintage disks are 10-inch releases from the early 1950's, many of which have never been reissued. RCA's transfers of Grace Moore singing operatic arias, Margaret Truman attempting to do the same, and Pacific's album entitled "Frasquita" with Conchita Supervia are among the most sought-after vintage LPs, but none of them fetch more than \$50. The first volume of EMI's "The Record of Singing," however, has received offers of \$1,200 and more from archive vocal buffs who missed buying this 12-record set when it was released in a limited edition in 1977.

Since records are primarily a product of industry rather than the unique work of individual artists, it will probably be a long time before they become rare enough to rank with the priceless relics of past ages or even with antique furniture. At the moment, the main standard for the value of vintage records is the same as for most "collectibles": that are under 75 years old; they are, or may be wanted by, somebody else. It is perhaps an indictment of our times that the possible return on a collectible recording so frequently bears no relation to its artistic merit. Indeed, the day may be coming when listening to and enjoying records have little to do with how or why we collect them.

With this year's foreign-film Oscar safely won by "The Tin Drum," Volker Schlöndorff's big, meticulously detailed screen adaptation of Günter Grass's fantastic epic of a novel, it appears that we are at last entering the decade of the German cinema. Rainer Werner Fassbinder's "The Marriage of Maria Braun" has already found audiences all over the country (though they are small in comparison with those for French or Italian pictures). The films of Werner Herzog and Wim Wenders are now a regular part of our repertory programs, and Mr. Wenders is currently at work on his first American film, "Hammett," being produced by Francis Ford Coppola.

Why is it that some decades appear to be dominated by the films of one country instead of another? Are there particular conditions that suddenly propel one group of nationals to heights of creative activity while other groups languish? When they occur, are those conditions the same in each succeeding country?

Sometimes there are no answers, only questions. The late 50's and early 60's were dominated by English filmmakers like Tony Richardson ("Look Back in Anger"), "Tom Jones," "A Taste of Honey," Karel Reisz ("Saturday Night and Sunday Morning"), John Schlesinger ("Billy Liar," "Darling") and David Lean ("The Bridge on the River Kwai"). It was a time when Alec Guinness, Peter Sellers and Terry-Thomas could not make a bad comedy if they tried. Vitality was apparent everywhere. It seemed unstoppable. Then suddenly it stopped. Why? It's too easy to put it down to a mass exodus to Hollywood or to economic conditions or even to fatigue.

The films of France's New Wave directors illuminated the sixties, but I still don't know why a handful of major directors, each with different interests and talents, should appear on the same scene at more or less the same time. The sixties were a golden time, what with François Truffaut's "Jules and Jim" and "Soft Skin," Jean-Luc Godard's turning out "Les Carabiniers," "La Chinoise," "Vive Sa Vie" and "Weekend," Claude Chabrol's discovering his wife, Stéphane Audran, on film in "Les Biches" and "La Femme Infidèle," and Eric Rohmer's beginning his Six Moral Tales with "My Night at Maud's."

Although Mr. Truffaut, Mr. Godard, Mr. Chabrol and Mr. Rohmer were friends and, as film critics, shared a strong disaffection for the kind of films being manufactured by the French movie establishment, they pursued different obsessions to different ends when making movies.

Near the end of the sixties, there was a brief period of extraordinary film making excitement in Czechoslovakia when Milos Forman, Ivan Passer, Jiri Menzel and Jan Nemec, among others, began making movies with such enthusiasm, wit and ease you might have thought they'd invented the form. They could flourish because of the political thaw, but what were the conditions that produced them in the first place, that, in effect, had them standing by and ready to shoot as soon as the thaw began?

If the international film scene of the seventies belonged to any one group of filmmakers, I suppose it would be to the Italians, if only for the rise of Bernardo Bertolucci with "The Conformist" and "Last Tango in Paris" and Lina Wertmüller with "Love and Anarchy," "Swept Away" and "Seven Beauties." Though Mr. Bertolucci and Miss Wertmüller have recently fallen on lean times, they were responsible for much of the excitement to be found in the Italian cinema, whose reputation, otherwise, was dependent on the works of such veterans as Federico Fellini, Luchino Visconti and Michelangelo Antonioni — Roberto Rossellini, by then, having turned his back on the commercial cinema.

At the moment, there are only two Italian films playing first run in New York: Marcello Fondato's sex farce, "The Immortal Bachelor," and Francesco Rosi's bookish "Eboli," based on Carlo Levi's "Christ Stopped at Eboli." Miss Wertmüller's "Blood Feud," which opened in February, lasted only a few weeks. England is represented exclusively by "The Wicker Man," a modish horror movie about a cult that practices the ultimate communion (cannibalism).

There have been a number of French films available here, but they have been as uniformly uninteresting as a line of meter maids. (At this writing, I have not seen Jean-Charles Tacchella's new movie, "Souppçon.") Costa-Gavras' "Clair de Femme" is a very solemn romantic movie that is, unintentionally, hilarious. There's nothing really wrong with Philippe de Broca's "Incorrigible," except that he's made the same picture too many times before. The state of French films is best defined, I think, by the fact that the most successful French import of all time is apparently "Cage aux Folles," a 1930's Broadway domestic farce updated by having its middle-aged couple played by two men.

On the other hand, the films coming out of Germany are exuberantly original and artistically risky and, more than the films being made in any other country at the moment, obsessed with the world in which the filmmakers have found themselves. Only Klaus Kirschner's brilliant, austere "Mozart: A Childhood Chronicle," which is largely a reading of letters that passed among the members of the composer's family, attends to history, but this is history of a very personal kind.

Both Wim Wenders ("The American Friend," "The Wrong Move," "The

FILM VIEW

VINCENT CANBY

The Rise of the German Cinema



A scene from Volker Schlöndorff's "The Tin Drum" — "Beautifully made"

Goalie's Anxiety at the Penalty Kick" and Peter Handke ("The Left-Handed Woman") are experimenting with new kinds of film narrative, with movies that attempt to communicate the meaning of contemporary life by dissolving reality until it looks and sounds quite unreal. Werner Herzog ("Kaspar Hauser," "Stroszek"), the poet of the new German cinema, finds our civilization a bad joke, which is reflected in his fondness for characters who are grotesque or damaged and in this way more in touch with reality than the rest of us.

The Orson Welles of the group is Rainer Werner Fassbinder ("The Marriage of Maria Braun"), a prodigiously talented and prolific filmmaker who loudly proclaims his admiration for Douglas Sirk but whose early films recall the work of Jean-Luc Godard and whose best films suggest that he is in the process of creating a cinematic equivalent to the theater of Bertolt Brecht.

Volker Schlöndorff appears to be the most conventional member of the new German cinema, but that's a little like saying that Chico Marx was the most sane of the three Marx Brothers. Comparatives don't tell the entire story — that is, that Mr. Schlöndorff is one of the most active members of a most unusual collection of new film talents.

All of these German directors belong to a generation that was born just before, during or after World War II. The rise and fall of the Third Reich is in their experience, but they may not remember it first hand, which may explain the intensity with which they search for meanings of it and of the post-war "economic miracle" that appears to have been the reward for those heady years of fascism, genocide and military defeat.

"The Tin Drum" covers nearly half a century of German history as seen through the dispassionate eyes of Oskar Matzerath, a little boy who, at age 3, decides to stop growing, thus to stay out of the mainstream of German bourgeois life. The movie is huge in its scope and is superbly acted, especially by 12-year-old David Bennent, who, in the course of the movie, plays Oskar from the time he emerges from the womb until, in his early 20's at the end of the war, he elects to resume his growth.

"The Tin Drum" is beautifully made, but it is less important as a movie than as an attempt to realize the extraordinary visions that originally were Günter Grass's.

Most of the Schlöndorff films we've seen in this country have been adaptations (very good ones) of other people's

novels: Robert Musil's "The Man Without Qualities," Heinrich Böll's "The Lost Honor of Katharina Blum," and "Colossal Love," adapted from a Marguerite Yourcenar novel.

There's nothing wrong with adaptations, but when they're adaptations of novels as big and sprawling and as all-encompassing as "The Tin Drum," there's no way to answer all of the questions that are raised, including the question of the time one spends in watching a long book compared to the time one spends in watching a long movie. The methods of the two genres differ, which affects basic responses.

I feel about "The Tin Drum" a bit the way I felt about Mike Nichols' "Catch 22." There was no way that of Joseph Heller's novel could have been brought to the screen, but almost everything that was there, though no one who hadn't read the novel could make complete sense of the movie, the movie could be compared to success if it turned anyone on to the book, which I think it did.

"The Tin Drum" should send a message to their libraries. It also demonstrates to an even larger number of people the vitality of German cinema today. German cinema is exciting and alive, and that's a good thing in a world where other countries in the world

Proper Nomenclature

By Richard Silvestri/Puzzles Edited By Eugene T. Malin

ACROSS

- 1 Due follower
- 4 Welfare
- 8 Alias
- 11 Assuage
- 17 Beautiful, in Bonn
- 19 Lars Porsena was one
- 21 For example
- 22 Fields comedy classic
- 24 Dutch genre display
- 25 Arch in a vault
- 26 Sought coal
- 27 Summer coolers
- 28 Looie's aide
- 29 Sid's co-star
- 31 Where Perry triumphed
- 32 Dandy's partner
- 33 Piece of wisdom
- 34 A place for fins
- 39 Lugubrious
- 42 Gaelic
- 43 Petty quarrel
- 44 "Hard—"
- 45 City in Mo.
- 46 Woodland deity
- 49 King beater
- 50 Begat
- 51 Read a meter
- 52 Esthetic movement
- 53 Mollgrubs
- 57 Wood sorrel
- 60 Buffalo, for one
- 61 Leeds's river
- 62 Conditional release
- 63 Efficacy
- 65 Motto and
- 66 Certain steeplejack
- 67 Optimally
- 68 Tide Mac held
- 69 Special
- 70 Pres. and prem.
- 71 Doctor
- 72 Urban noisemaker
- 74 Merit
- 77 Type of cigar
- 78 Hang loosely
- 79 First P.M. of India
- 83 Envelope abbr.
- 84 Type of deck
- 85 Powerful bloc
- 87 Grandmother of Timothy
- 88 N.B.A. whistler
- 89 Garb of young Sinatra's fans
- 93 Nard
- 94 Miasma
- 95 Easy: Scot.
- 96 Scoop, e.g.
- 97 Actor from Dublin
- 101 Chevet
- 102 Delays, to D.A.'s
- 104 Start of a hole
- 105 Oxidized
- 107 Ball-park fare
- 110 Acclivity
- 111 Circular diamond
- 112 Silk worms
- 113 Combinations
- 114 Suffix with malt
- 115 Crucifix
- 116 Shivaree

DOWN

- 1 "—of heraldry..." Gray
- 2 Rifle
- 3 Champlévé
- 4 "—the worst to young!" Kipling
- 5 To be: Fr.
- 6 Desiccated
- 7 Director Jean-Godard
- 8 University in Nova Scotia
- 9 Hoopster Abdul-Jabbar
- 10 Connectives
- 11 Draft org.
- 12 External
- 13 Immense quantity
- 14 Bathrobe material
- 15 Knock
- 16 Actual being
- 17 Stars' companions
- 18 Foolish fancy
- 19 Omar from Alexandria
- 20 Inclined plane
- 21 Loose garment
- 22 Mock
- 23 Waugh or Templeton
- 24 Cordon bleu
- 25 Part of Borg's game
- 26 Verve
- 27 Breed of dairy cattle
- 28 Where the jet set may get wet
- 29 Democrats' adjective for Grant
- 30 Play a role
- 31 Belgian port
- 32 Cry of contempt
- 33 Copies, for short
- 34 Mild medicinal beverage
- 35 Rode the waves
- 36 Become enraged

Answer to Previous Puzzle

ACROSS
1. DUE FOLLOWER
4. WELFARE
8. ALIAS
11. ASSUAGE
17. BEAUTIFUL, IN BONN
19. LARS PORSENA WAS ONE
21. FOR EXAMPLE
22. FIELDS COMEDY CLASSIC
24. DUTCH GENRE DISPLAY
25. ARCH IN A VAULT
26. SOUGHT COAL
27. SUMMER COOLERS
28. LOOLIE'S AIDE
29. SID'S CO-STAR
31. WHERE PERRY TRIUMPHED
32. DANDY'S PARTNER
33. PIECE OF WISDOM
34. A PLACE FOR FINS
39. LUGUBRIOUS
42. GAELIC
43. PETTY QUARREL
44. "HARD—" Kipling
45. CITY IN MO.
46. WOODLAND DEITY
49. KING BEATER
50. BEGAT
51. READ A METER
52. ESTHETIC MOVEMENT
53. MOLLGRUBS
57. WOOD SORREL
60. BUFFALO, FOR ONE
61. LEEDS'S RIVER
62. CONDITIONAL RELEASE
63. EFFICACY
65. MOTTO AND
66. CERTAIN STEEPLJACK
67. OPTIMALLY
68. TIDE MAC HELD
69. SPECIAL
70. PRES. AND PREM.
71. DOCTOR
72. URBAN NOISEMAKER
74. MERIT
77. TYPE OF CIGAR
78. HANG LOOSELY
79. FIRST P.M. OF INDIA
83. ENVELOPE ABBR.
84. TYPE OF DECK
85. POWERFUL BLOC
87. GRANDMOTHER OF TIMOTHY
88. N.B.A. WHISTLER
89. GARB OF YOUNG SINATRA'S FANS
93. NARD
94. MIASMA
95. EASY: SCOT.
96. SCOOP, E.G.
97. ACTOR FROM DUBLIN
101. CHEVET
102. DELAYS, TO D.A.'S
104. START OF A HOLE
105. OXIDIZED
107. BALL-PARK FARE
110. ACCLIVITY
111. CIRCULAR DIAMOND
112. SILK WORMS
113. COMBINATIONS
114. SUFFIX WITH MALT
115. CRUCIFIX
116. SHIVAREE
DOWN
1. "—OF HERALDRY..." GRAY
2. RIFLE
3. CHAMPELÉVÉ
4. "—THE WORST TO YOUNG!" KIPLING
5. TO BE: FR.
6. DESICCATED
7. DIRECTOR JEAN-GODARD
8. UNIVERSITY IN NOVA SCOTIA
9. HOOPSTER ABDUL-JABBAR
10. CONNECTIVES
11. DRAFT ORG.
12. EXTERNAL
13. IMMENSE QUANTITY
14. BATHROBE MATERIAL
15. KNOCK
16. ACTUAL BEING
17. STARS' COMPANIONS
18. FOOLISH FANCY
19. OMAR FROM ALEXANDRIA
20. INCLINED PLANE
21. LOOSE GARMENT
22. MOCK
23. WAUGH OR TEMPLETON
24. CORDON BLEU
25. PART OF BORG'S GAME
26. VERVE
27. BREED OF DAIRY CATTLE
28. WHERE THE JET SET MAY GET WET
29. DEMOCRATS' ADJECTIVE FOR GRANT
30. PLAY A ROLE
31. BELGIAN PORT
32. CRY OF CONTEMPT
33. COPIES, FOR SHORT
34. MILD MEDICINAL BEVERAGE
35. RODE THE WAVES
36. BECAME ENRAGED

مَكَانِي مِنَ الْأَصْل



(Above) One of the golden eagles perches in a pine near the Cremisan Monastery in Beit Jalla. (Centre) Telephoto shot of the rare nest. (Right) Volunteers on watch with high-powered spyglass and binoculars.

EVERY DAY three watchmen go out to an isolated spot near Jerusalem to guard over a natural treasure, though it is one that will not fly away.

The treasure is a golden eagle nesting in its nest on the grounds of the Cremisan Monastery at Beit Jalla; the watchmen are volunteers who see to it that the young bird and its parents are not disturbed. They have been organized by Yossi Leshem, an ornithologist who heads the nature conservation department of the Nature Protection Society.

Leshem explained that the bird usually nests in high crags. There are known to be 14 pairs of golden eagles in Israel, but this is the only pair to have nested in a tree near Jerusalem. All the others are in the Negev or in the

Judean Desert.

When the nest was first discovered last year, he said, the society decided to keep it a secret, for fear that nature lovers and hikers in their enthusiasm would drive the birds away.

One day, however, as members of the society watched the bird from afar, they saw a local farmer sit down to rest against the tree, only to be startled when the giant bird flew out. The farmer started throwing stones at the nest, but luckily the observers stopped him in time.

At this point the society decided that it would be best to keep a

regular watch over the birds. They spread the trunk of the tree itself, a towering umbrella pine, with a thick layer of grease studded with broken glass. The volunteers stand watch from a point about 200 metres from the nest.

The guards, who are high school students and adults, mainly members of nature groups, not only see that the eagles come to no harm, but they also keep a daily

record of the birds' doings. By examining the "pellets" of bone and feathers coughed up by the eagles, they also determine what it eats.

Last year, the eagles devoured 28 chickens. Leshem said he told farmers in the area that he would compensate them for any chickens the eagles took, but so far none have come forward. Evidently the eagles are too quick to be seen, he observes.

The winter's diet also included two foxes, 30 rabbits, and 107 turtles. By observing the golden eagle, Leshem notes, the society was able to confirm the plausibility of a classical report to the effect that Aeschylus died when an eagle mistook his bald pate for a rock and dropped a turtle on it. The eagles do indeed crack open the turtles by dropping them from heights. Using additional volunteers, the

society was also able to determine the eagles' territory, an area about 10 km. long and seven km. wide. Normally, the volunteer guards stay overnight at the Mt. Gilio field school, going out to watch at about 4.20 a.m. and staying until sunset. Expenses for the guard programme come from Keren Hatsvi, a special fund set up to protect wildlife.

Anyone interested in joining the watch can write to the Mt. Gilio Field School, "Sak Na'el," Jerusalem, marking the envelope "For the Golden Eagle." To see the eagles, Leshem requests, visitors should come by way of the

monastery, rather than on foot through the wadi from Jerusalem, a route that is liable to disturb the birds.

After reaching the Cremisan Monastery, visitors should follow the paved road to the wine-cellar, parking in the area set aside for customers. On foot, follow the dirt road downhill to the fork in the road after some 200 metres. Take the left fork and continue until you see the telescope and binoculars.

Incidentally, when the birds were first discovered, the monks at Cremisan took a dim view of the society's activities, evidently suspecting the volunteers of being an offshoot of Gush Emunim. But after Leshem explained the rarity of the treasure on their land, they have been among the eagles' staunchest protectors.

Watching a feathered treasure

By HAIM SHAPIRO/Jerusalem Post Reporter

America's Afghan options

By SRAYA SHAPIRO/Jerusalem Post Reporter

THE SOVIET UNION is probably loath to extricate itself from Afghanistan, but it will take some time before American planning to help it out. The American government now has the opportunity to stop and sustain a broad-based strategy," writes Dr. Mark Heller, "Memorandum" just published by the Centre for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University.

Dr. Heller notes that some facilities should be withdrawn from the Soviets — such as computers with military applications; while others, such as gas technology, should be withheld in small doses. This would reduce the chances of a superpower conflict, Dr. Heller believes.

According to Heller, nobody was surprised at the American reaction to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The American reaction for years had tacitly accepted Afghanistan status as a "buffer state" on the border of the USSR. When the Soviet Union resolved to change the status of the USSR, the American reaction was to throw a pro-American government, to replace a Communist ruler had become too independent. The Kabul government was faced a religious and tribal revolt which could have spread to the other areas of the Soviet Union. The Soviets felt free to deal with President Hafizullah Amin because he was an American, but because he was already a Soviet camp," Heller says.

He suspects that Afghanistan occupied in order to facilitate the invasion of Iran Heller believes is "quite illogical from a

military point of view." The border the Soviet Union shared with Iran before the Afghan adventure is closer to Iran's vital targets, than the Afghan frontier.

THE AFGHAN move was described by the U.S. as a "gross violation of the rules of international behaviour." But the nature of the "rules" is perceived differently by both sides. Over the past decade, Heller notes, the Soviets undertook many a "breach of the rules" — they introduced combat troops into the Egyptian-Israeli war of attrition, used Cuban proxy forces in Angola and Ethiopia, and sanctioned the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia. "In each of these cases the American response was that what was done was not permissible; the Soviet conclusion was that, since this was the extent of the American response, what had been done actually was permissible."

The Afghanistan operation "resembled" a training operation in one major respect — it was unopposed," Heller writes. But the consequences of the invasion "suggest that the Soviet calculation of risks and benefits" was "either faulty or incomplete." If American public opinion supports "coastal defense programmes and more confrontational foreign policies," Afghanistan may spell a setback for the Soviets, he says.

BUT BANKING on Moslem support is a delusion, Heller stresses. Though Moslems obviously resent the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, their fundamentalists "see the West as being no less

hostile to Moslem values and aspirations."

Afghanistan may prove a watershed in U.S.-Soviet relations if some of Dr. Heller's "suggested guidelines for American policy" are adopted by the State Department. There is danger of a weak reaction, which would lead the Soviet Union to conclude that the West has only the choice of "capitulation or cataclysmic war." However, "excessively threatening reactions, arising out of an exaggerated reading of Soviet intentions, are equally dangerous."

The Soviets "will not allow themselves to be forced out, either by Western actions or local resistance." Global difficulties may spur them to withdraw after "pacification" is achieved. Ironically, Heller notes, "these same difficulties may mean that it is in the American interest to prolong the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan."

The U.S., Heller adds, "must not allow itself to be stampeded by small power manipulation of anti-Soviet themes." It is "absurd" that Pakistan's President Zia ul-Haq attempts to dictate conditions for the defence of his country.

If the Americans follow Dr. Heller's analysis closely, "Afghanistan, ironically, may produce what Angola and Ethiopia failed to do — a revitalization of both the intelligence and covert action capabilities of the U.S." However, looking at the facts realistically, Dr. Heller's conclusion is that the prospects of multilateral measures are "mixed."

Switzerland's film revolution

CINEMA/David George

FOR TOO MANY YEARS, Swiss films were devoted primarily to rural, if not frequently boring, scenes of Alpine charm and quaint people tucked away in little mountain towns. For totally unjustified reasons, the Swiss cinema had the reputation of being a vast "archaeology of age."

In fact, the state of the art might have been summed up by the words of Fredi Murer's excellent commentary "Is Not Our Fault It We Mountain Dwellers Are Are We Are."

But the mountain dwellers are now producing films of artistic and commercial quality that rival the best of the French Nouvelle Vague or the New German Cinema. The first turnabout came about in the late Sixties when directors like Goretta, Alain Tanner and Daniel Soutter, each strongly influenced by the Free Cinema movement in England, began making films that broke away from the tradition of tranquillity. By the three had been joined by a fourth, young, television-influenced filmmaker, and the Swiss were starting to call for a revolution on a major artistic scale.

Lying heavily on a language of the new generation of filmmakers is highly critical of what is considered overly traditional values. They are bitter and uncompromising in an attack on a society they perceive as too intransigent and too conservative. Though from vastly different philosophical and ethical grounds — they represent the German, French and Italian cinema of Switzerland — the common bond of these young directors is their highly analytic view of situations which, while it is a politically leftist point of view, speaks to broad human

defined attack on class distinction as it affected the life of a particular young woman. His "L'Invitation" is possibly an even stronger attack on the foibles of society. In this carefully prepared, yet partly improvised, comedy of manners, Goretta, who has always been fascinated by people's hidden complexities and reactions, takes 10 ordinary characters and mixes their personalities together like chemicals. The results are illuminating and touching.

Like Tati, Goretta prefers long shots to close-ups so that he can dwell on body movements and antics which are not only amusing but also reveal a great deal about human behaviour. But Goretta is not searching for humour at the expense of his characters, and he makes it clear that he regards the petty bourgeoisie as the neglected and abused class of our time.

His "Pas Si Mechant Que Ca" also deserves particular attention. Not only does the film show how impressively Goretta can communicate and experience unspoken, borderline emotional situations, it also proves how he seeks to perfect the art of human relationships.

In this film, Goretta uses French actors Gerard Depardieu and Marlene Jobert and he makes them quite at home in the milieu of the Swiss romande.

Alain Tanner also explores and diagnoses the Swiss inability to change, to find oneself, and to communicate with others. His "Messidor" has been widely hailed as a small masterpiece. The film is based on a factual incident which Tanner changes into one particularly fitting the Swiss situation. The story revolves round two adolescent girls who hitch-hike across the countryside and simultaneously murder the men who give them rides. An exciting and plausible tale, the film is actually a parable symbolizing what could happen to an industrial society where people

become increasingly similar with less ability to rebel.

THEMES of independence and rebellion are common to other Swiss films, too. Michel Soutter's "Repasages" is a modern-day recreation of Chekhov's "Three Sisters." The problems of revolutionary Russia are transposed to modern-day Switzerland, and the film not only confirms this director's talent but also underlines the impact of individual human problems on an international scale. "Erica Minor," Bertrand van Effenterre's latest film, is concerned with three women who want to prove their independence and who, during the course of their experiences, undergo difficult and sometimes bizarre moments.

Daniel Schmid, in his second film, "La Paloma," flies into the world of dreams — and dreams which have yet to be dreamed. He juggles with refinement and knowledge, the world of legend, aspects of Poe and the symbolism of Plaubert to create his own world.

There must, however, be something inherent to left-wing politics and the polemics of self-actualization that precludes happy endings. Goretta's protagonists are invariably deserted, Tanner's frequently become murderers, and Soutter's are prone to suicide. Patricia Moras ("Le Chemin Perdu") has her characters overcome death and abandonment only to survive in a terrible state of loneliness. Theodore Koefer's characters ("The Assistant") are left destitute, betrayed and alone. Freedom and change are necessary, but the moral of these stories is that there is a price that must be paid for them.

A major effort to bring these films to Israeli audiences has been undertaken under the patronage of the Swiss Embassy, working with the Israeli Cinematheque and the Israeli Film Institute. Twelve of the films will be shown on special schedules at the Cinematheque in Haifa, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv during April and May. A sampling is definitely in order.



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Context

The Post's DAVID KRIVINE seeks a solution to a question that has given rise to heated debate...

Who should control air traffic?

The main danger to air safety in Israel is not insufficient radar or inadequate control towers; it is the recentralization of power and the role of the military.

THE CONTROVERSY over Air Traffic Control arose with the creation of the Israel Airports Authority. Previously, the Transport Ministry was in charge (through its Civil Aviation Department), and the Airports Authority was a subordinate body. The new legislation introduced by Gad Ya'acobi, Transport Minister in the last administration, created a new authority, the Civil Aviation Administration (CAA), successor to the Civil Aviation Department, and the Israel Airports Authority (IAA), which is commissioned to run all the country's airports.

The authority took to its task with enthusiasm. Safety measures are being updated, a process that will be completed by next January. The IAA commissioned a study by an American consulting company called Metter, which made recommendations for the 1980s. Thus, the radar system will be automated through computers by 1983. And at that time, the second runway should be in operation, necessitating the construction of a new control tower. The authority is in the process of putting up a new flight information center.

When will they finish reforming the system? "Never," replied Ehud Shilo, director-general of the Transport Ministry, who is due to retire from his post at the end of the month.

What he meant was that the process of modernization never ends. Yehuda Levran, spokesman of the Pilots' Association, prefers to see whether the IAA carry out their promises before commenting on the safety aspects of the authority's development programme.

YET THERE IS RANCOR. The cause of it lies elsewhere. The government has not done its homework properly. It set up two august governmental or para-governmental bodies where previously there was one. Which of them is in charge of air safety? Both. That is to say, the CAA is responsible for policy and supervision; the IAA for execution. Now that ATC has become a critical function, requiring maximal coordination and split-second timing (otherwise lives are in danger), both sides agree that one party alone should have total responsibility. The question is, which?

Naftali Ben-Yehuda, head of the CAA, sees the authority as essentially a business undertaking, designed to run a public service profitably. The government should bear ultimate responsibility for the protection of life and property, and that means the CAA.

But the authority will not accept a

subordinate role in such an important sphere of activity as ATC; and that could have been foreseen. The authority was created for reasons that have little to do with the logistics of aviation. Airport staff were restive at the gap between their wages and those prevailing in El Al.

Mr. Ya'acobi wanted to solve this labour-relations problem by removing them from the civil service through the creation of a new government-owned "authority." Then, they would not be subject to the collective agreement fixing the wages of civil servants.

What he chose to overlook was that the gap which previously separated airline staff from airport staff would now separate airport staff from the other civil servants, notably civil servants employed by the Transport Ministry.

The authority raised CAA of its best workers by offering them higher salaries. The CAA was shrinking anyway, since many of its functions had been switched to the IAA. The authority kept growing. It has huge budgets for airport development, and it is headed by a dynamic person who was once Ben-Yehuda's superior — Dr. Ramon Harel, former director-general of the Transport Ministry.

THE FOCUS of power started shifting towards the authority. A team from the U.S. Federal Aviation Agency, under an American expert called Joseph Blatt, had recommended that the CAA should handle airway functions and the authority should deal with airport activities other than airway functions. That was in May 1977, before the authority had come into existence.

In February, 1979, that same Joseph Blatt advised the authority that airway functions should be lodged with them. Given that the government had entrusted the authority with the task of providing the ATC services, he must have felt that they may as well go the whole hog and let the authority fix its own rules and regulations, too.

The present situation is potentially mystifying. The word "inspection" (pikukh) is used in two senses. A letter of clarification signed by Transport Minister Haim Landau on March 20 last year requires the authority "to perform control and inspection services" (over the movement of aircraft), and at the same time enjoins the CAA to undertake "inspection of the application of the Aviation Act" and other laws, including "the regulations enacted under these measures."

If there is goodwill on both sides, it should be possible to divide the task of inspection (according to the

IAA) from the task of inspecting the inspectors (the job of the CAA). But that goodwill is lacking, and the government's imprecision makes things worse.

The furious argument going on between the administration (the CAA) and the authority — two names which must breed confusion — over the limits of their respective jurisdictions does not inspire confidence among air crews that the organization of air safety is optimal. If a mishap should occur, who would have to answer for it, the IAA or the CAA? The heated exchanges that would ensue in such an eventuality can be left to the imagination.

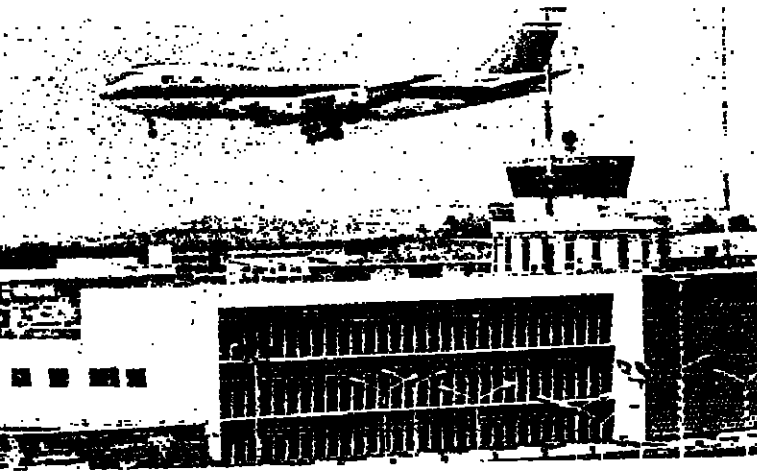
CURRENTLY, each issue is an occasion for wrangling. The CAA wants the authority to submit its development plans for approval. The authority does not see why it should. Enough, it says, that the CAA lays down the rules. El Al, too, is subject to the Civil Aviation Administration, but it does not have to ask their permission before buying an airliner. Why should the authority need Ben-Yehuda's permission to build a hangar?

The CAA handles the negotiation of landing rights with foreign governments. Ben-Yehuda has been doing that for the last two decades, and his record is impeccable. But when he started talks with the Egyptians, Ramon Harel wanted to be in on them. The authority is in charge, he pointed out, of all landing and departing civilian aircraft in Israel, so how can it be left out of negotiations over a new flight route into and out of its own air terminal?

This latest beef between the IAA is what happens when weak-kneed governments are unable to call a spade a spade. Had the Israel Airports Authority been dubbed — as it should — the Israel Airports Company, Dr. Harel might have thought twice before adopting such an autocratic tone.

THE TRUTH of the matter is that the functions of ATC should reside neither with the CAA nor with the authority. On that point, strangely enough, both sides are — when they speak confidentially — of one mind. Both recognize that there is a solution which is different, which runs counter to both their claims, yet is logical and in all probability unavoidable. The control of ATC should lie with — the Israel Air Force.

Says Harel: "At present, the skies are divided between military and civilian flights, and we have to coordinate. The army wants it all together, and they have a case, since they account for 95 per cent of the missions."



Says Ben-Yehuda: "The army should control air traffic, while making sure, for civilian flights, to abide by the rules fixed by the CAA and by the international standards to which Israel is committed under the Chicago Convention."

The council of the authority itself decided on February 21 this year that "responsibility for air traffic control in Israel should be placed in the hands of a single body, whether it be the CAA, the Israel Airports Authority, or the Air Force" (our italics) "or any other agency that the Transport Minister deems suitable."

The Knesset Economic Committee, sitting on March 19, called on the Defence and Transport Ministers to appoint an expert com-

mittee which would finally settle the problem.

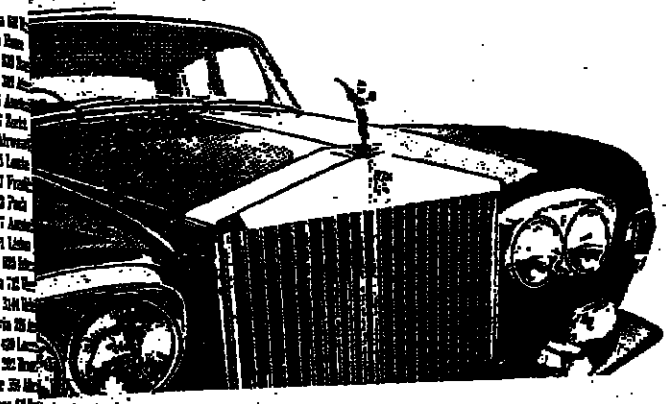
The air force is, on its own admission, ill-equipped to take over responsibility now for the civilian sector. The types of plans are different — the civilian ones are much bigger and considerably slower. The rules are different, the language of operation is different. The air force uses Hebrew; the control tower at Ben-Gurion Airport employs the international language, English.

But Israel is small, and there is no room to keep flight systems apart. The time has passed for coordination between two or more separate bodies. Central control is essential, and only the army can do it.

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Mark	23.1415	23.3150	23.4500
Franc	9.9741	10.0490	9.8900
Guilder	21.0794	21.2578	20.9500
Yen	24.7629	24.9407	24.6100
Krona	9.8914	9.9656	9.7000
Krone	8.5321	8.5971	8.3700
Mark	7.4250	7.4897	7.2800
Mark	11.3011	11.3659	11.0800
Mark	36.3048	36.5772	35.7900
Dollar	47.0180	47.3709	45.0400
Franc	53.2012	53.6003	41.9200
Franc	14.3848	14.4928	13.7200
Schilling	32.5048	32.7487	32.3000
Lira	49.3884	49.7368	48.8100
Yen	172.7923	174.0889	171.7100

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	Buying	Selling
"Dollar Paz" 1 unit	155.3018	156.4672
"Euro Paz" 1 unit	209.3233	211.0953

Interest rates (%) for non-resident deposit accounts (Patash) and Israeli resident deposit accounts (Patam) for 22.4.80

	Patash				Patam			
	3	6	12	18	3	6	12	18
Dollar	17%	18%	18%	18%	8	10%	10%	10%
Swiss Fr.	16%	16%	16%	16%	8	10%	10%	10%
Mark	9	9%	9%	9%	8	10%	10%	10%
Guilder	9%	10%	10%	10%	8	10%	10%	10%
Dollar	15%	15%	15%	15%	11%	11%	11%	11%
Franc	12	12%	12%	12%	8	8%	8%	8%
Yen	13%	13%	13%	13%	12%	12%	12%	12%

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